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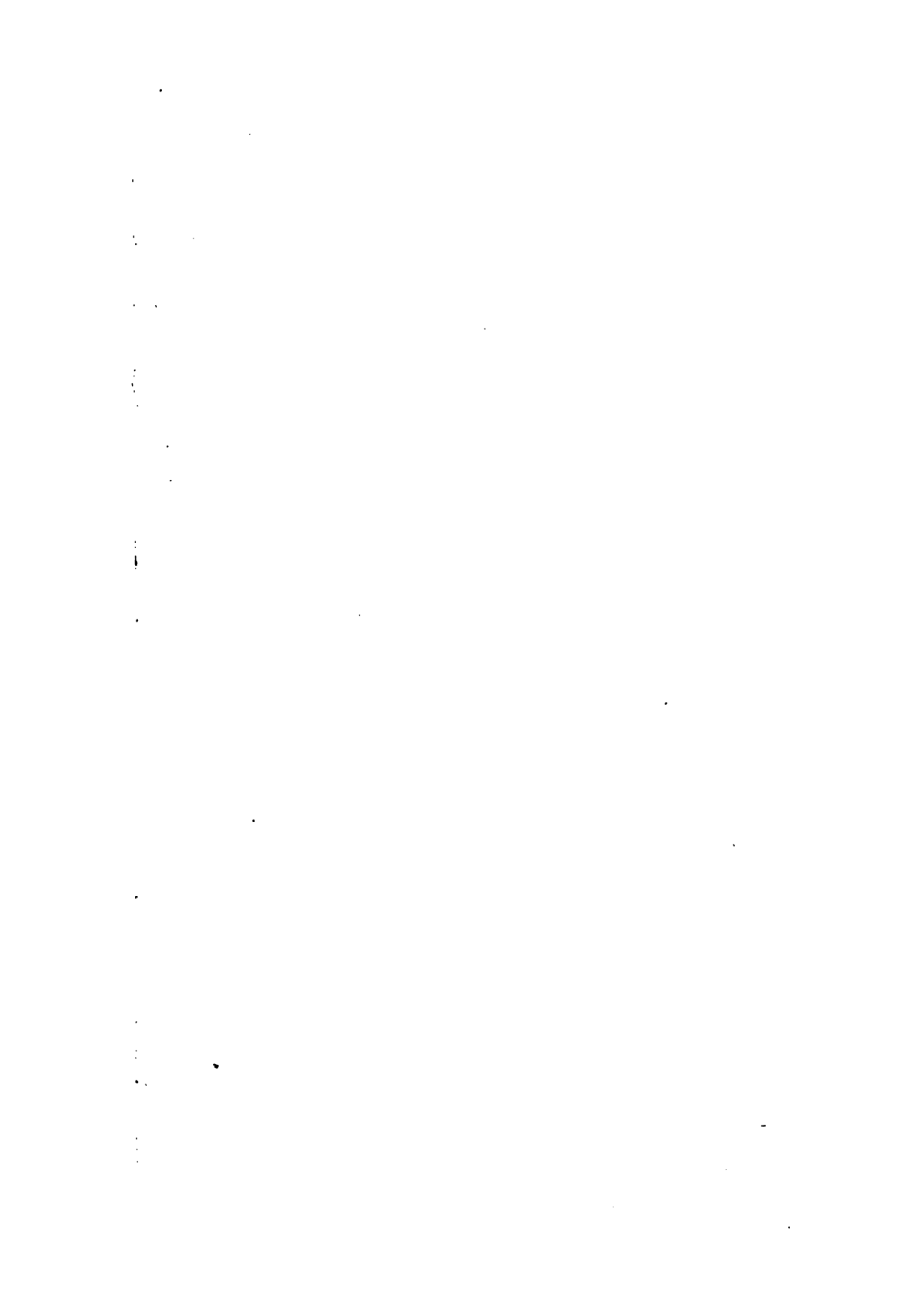
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THE ARGUMENTS FOR FURTHER CONCESSIONS

ROMAN CATHOLICS:

CS. 

MEMBERS OF THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

MODERN PUBLICATIONS ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

easiest matter in the world to take away their liberty."—LORD SOMERS.

J. HATCHARD, AND SON, 187, PICCADILLY.

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TO THE
RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ELDON,
THIS ATTEMPT TO CONDENSE, AND PLACE IN A MORE PROMINENT
POINT OF VIEW, THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS AGAINST
THE CATHOLIC CLAIMS,
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.



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THE easiest questions become difficult, and the most simple ones intricate, by discussions too long protracted on unessential topics gradually introduced. Such are the interminable controversies about that church which has encumbered Christianity with her traditions. The edifice is scarcely discernible amongst scaffolding so complicated. Thus also entangled by disputants on both sides, are the claims which she makes at present to civil privileges, or rather, to political power. The longer we engage, the more smoky is our field of battle, and the more extensive. It is often highly advantageous in an argument, to consider what it was at first about. We have beaten our adversaries so long, and followed

them so far, that there are almost as many clamorous fugitives behind our backs, as before our faces. Let us, therefore, return once more, that we may start afresh. We will simplify our discussion, and separate the original ingredients of this steaming and unwholesome cauldron, from the carrion by which it has been thickened, the toads and adders which have been since cast into it.—LATERNARIUS.—*See St. James's Chronicle, Nov. 1, 1828.*

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THE
BRUNSWICKER'S TEXT-BOOK.

PART FIRST.

I.

Statutes which operate against the Roman Catholics, and causes of their enactment.

BEFORE we proceed to consider the arguments which have been adduced in opposition to the grant of further privileges to the Roman Catholics, it will not be improper to take a short view of the statutes which operate against them, and of the causes which led to their enactment.

The principal statutes are, the 1st of Elizabeth, (chap. i.) being "An Act to restore to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiastical and spiritual, and *abolishing all foreign powers* contrary to the same;" the 30th Charles II. (chap. i. st. 2.) being "An Act for the more effectual preserving the King's person and government, *by disabling Papists from*

sitting in either house of Parliament ;” the Bill of Rights (1 William and Mary,) which excludes Roman Catholics from the crown for the following reason, “Whereas the late King James the Second, by the assistance of divers evil *counsellors, judges, and ministers*, employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the *Protestant religion*, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom ;” and, “Whereas,” proceeds the Bill of Rights, “it hath been found by experience, that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a *Popish prince*, or by any King or Queen marrying a Papist; the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, do further pray that it may be enacted, that all and every person, or persons, that is, or are, or shall be, reconciled to, or shall hold communication with, the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be *excluded*, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy, the Crown and government of this realm and Ireland ;” the Act of Union with Scotland (5 Anne, chap viii.) states, in order “that the true Protestant religion professed and established by law in the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, should be effectually and *unalterably secured*,” it was enacted, that “*all and singular Acts of Parliament, in force for the establish-*

ment and preservation of the Church of England; and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall remain and be in full force for ever ;” the King’s Coronation Oath, the words of which are, “ I will, to the utmost of my power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel and *the Protestant reformed religion established by law* ; and I will preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, *all such rights and privileges as by law* do or shall appertain to them, or any of them ;” —besides the Act of Uniformity, the Corporation and the Test Acts.

“ When (said Sir J. Copley, speaking on the Catholic Question, 1827) gentlemen tell us of the laws which have been passed, onerous to the professors of the Roman Catholic religion—when they complain of the severity of those laws, they carefully keep out of view the necessity which caused their enactment ; or, if they touch upon it, they touch lightly. That course is, towards this House, highly mischievous—it is false and deceptive. Are the feelings of reverence, with which we regard the acts of those who have gone before us, to be outraged by our being told, at this time of day, that our forefathers were oppressors, and had proceeded in those enactments, which have so long been considered the bulwarks of our civil and religious liberties, without ade-

quate cause? Are we now, after twenty years' discussion, to be told, that men of great knowledge, of unimpeached integrity—the warm lovers, the most ardent friends and champions, of constitutional liberty, were bigots, persecutors, intolerants, oppressors?

“ Without uttering one word calculated to excite bad feelings, I will, with the permission of the House, review some of the circumstances under which certain of those so-much-complained-of statutes became the law of the land. If we advert to the reign of Elizabeth, I ask, does any man suppose that the laws against professors of the Roman Catholic religion, which were then enacted, proceeded on speculative conjecture, on imaginary apprehensions, on suggestions of invention? Is it not, on the contrary, well known that those laws were enacted for the express purpose of keeping the Roman Catholics of that day in subjection; a body, who, if they were not kept in subjection, and effectually controuled, would have overborne and oppressed the Protestants to an extent far beyond all that can now, with any show of truth, be imputed to the Protestants of the present times. The legislators of that day had been close observers of what had recently occurred during the short dominion of the Roman Catholics in the reign of Mary. They had been all of them actors, and some of them sufferers, in that period of horror.

They lived in that age when bigotry and intolerance were triumphant—they were spectators of the frightful scenes enacting in France; the horrible atrocities perpetrated there, and also in the Netherlands, were before their eyes, or fresh in their remembrance. The power of the Roman Catholic religion of that day was seen in the full force of its arbitrary and tyrannical character. And, the Roman Catholics of that period were, day by day, endeavouring to undermine and to overthrow the government of this country; and in connexion with one of the most despotic and bigoted governments that ever existed in the world—that of Spain—to re-establish the system which had already proved so hostile to our liberties. To guard against the recurrence of evils, the most intolerable by which society can be afflicted, our forefathers enacted the laws against the Roman Catholics.

“I will now (said Sir J. Copley) pass to the period of James, when laws were enacted imposing upon Roman Catholics the oath of allegiance and other oaths; not for the purpose of wounding their feelings, or insulting their honour, but in consequence of an attempt which I will not describe—of a character so atrocious and horrid, as to be almost incredible, were it not for the clear evidence on which its truth was incontestably established; and yet, with necessities such as these, pressing upon the condition of our ancestors, they are charged with intolerance and

bigotry, when they merely proceeded on principles of self-defence.

“ From this period, and this country, I will pass to a later day, and to another land. I will refer you, in justification of the Protestants who are charged with bigotry and intolerance, for having passed the laws respecting the Roman Catholics—to the occurrences in Ireland, in the reign of Charles I. in the year 1641, when insurrection and massacre deluged, I may say, that unhappy country with blood, and occasioned scenes of devastation and horror more extensive than the imagination of man is capable of conceiving. Is it wonderful that with such scenes before them, and witnessing the persevering attempts which were made by the Roman Catholics of that period to obtain predominance, men attached to the laws—men of upright and honourable minds—men imbued with the principles of statesmen, should feel themselves imperatively called upon to enact laws—of severity if you will—but laws which were calculated to repress the evil of which so just an apprehension was entertained?

“ I will now revert to the period of the Revolution, when in consequence of various schemes which were evidently concerted for the purpose of introducing the Roman Catholic religion into the country, and just as some of those schemes, that excited well-founded and extreme alarm in the mind of every Protestant, were ripe for ex-

ecution, James the Second was driven from the throne. ‘He rendered,’ said Lord Eldon, ‘as far as in him lay, the laws of the land inoperative, and in his conduct justified the assertion, that *Papery and tyranny necessarily exist together; and convinced the nation that its liberties cannot be safe, if a Papist sits upon the throne.* It had before—let this not be forgotten—been convinced that a king must have Protestant advisers only in Parliament.’

“Why have I adverted to these facts? God forbid that I should ascribe to the Roman Catholics of the present day, principles such as these, which are known to have been professed and acted upon by the Roman Catholics of the seventeenth century. The sole object which I have had in view, has been to show the foundation of the laws by which the Roman Catholics have been at various times restrained. From the Revolution down to the present period, those laws, as far as they related to political power, have been gradually diminished in severity. Many of the oaths by which persons, professing the Roman Catholic religion, were prevented from enjoying various civil advantages, (oaths highly proper at the time at which they were enacted,) have been abrogated.”

Such are the restrictive statutes, and such the causes which led to their enactment. Their repeal has been argued on the ground of Toleration, Abstract and Conventional Rights, the

Examples of other States, and Political Expediency. How futile such arguments are has been abundantly proved. Let us take them in their order.

II.

Toleration—its nature and limits—enjoyed in its fullest extent by Roman Catholics.

“To tolerate (observes the Quarterly Review) is to allow that which is not approved,—to suffer that which is not and ought not to be encouraged. Toleration is such allowance, such sufferance ;—nothing more. And more no dissidents ought to expect or ask, more being inconsistent with the fundamental principles of any constitution whereof religion is a part. And this, too, must have its limits ; for nothing may be tolerated which would manifestly endanger the public peace,—nothing which is offensive to public decency,—nothing which is contrary to a divine command,—nothing which is in itself nefarious ; though conscience may be pleaded for all, since ‘among the many practical errors which are gotten abroad into the world, a very large proportion there is of those which have either suckt

their poison from, or disguised it under, that venerable name.' Were a party of Hindoos, for example, to establish themselves, with their families, in England, however desirous the women might be to burn themselves when they became widows, and however desirous their friends and relatives might be that they should be gratified in their desire, no such sacrifice would or could be tolerated in this country. Were a sect to arise among us who should reject the ordinances of marriage, such a sect would be suppressed by law, unless they were so insignificant in number as to escape observation; like certain schismatical Quakers in Ireland, who some twenty years ago separated from their society, or were rather cast out by it, because even the Quakers' form of matrimony was too ceremonial for them. They were a set of harmless enthusiasts, acting in the simplicity of their hearts, under the influence of an erring and over-stimulated conscience working upon weak minds; but if a proselyting sect were to be formed upon the principle of having a community of wives, or any other such scheme, in which conscience should be made the flimsy pretext for profligacy, the interposition of authority would be called for. If such testimony were to be volunteered in these days, as in the times of the Commonwealth was not unfrequently borne against the priest and the steeple-house before the congregation, by men sometimes, sometimes by women,—were

such exhibitions to be made, as they then were, in naked truth or even in semi-nude sincerity, though there are no persons who would think of punishing the poor, pitiable fanatics as criminals, all will agree that they ought to be regarded as insane, and put under restraint accordingly. In the first and lightest case, that where the evil amounts to nothing more than a probability of disturbing the public peace, those who see the propriety of suppressing the processions of the Orange Clubs, will admit that, precisely on similar grounds, the Roman Catholics should be prohibited from carrying in public the host and the images of their saints, with such display as is customary in countries where the Roman Catholic religion is established. Processions of this kind are not tolerated even in the United States of America. The gratification of any party or sect, however numerous or respectable, must give way to public convenience.

“As there are limits to toleration, so there are degrees of it. The Protestant dissenters must be deemed erroneous, some as to their doctrines and all as to their discipline, by those who profess the principles of the Established Church; and in this light they are regarded by the law. Their conduct in former times produced greater and more lasting injury to the Protestant cause than could have been brought about by all the efforts of all the Catholic powers, and all the artifices of the Church of Rome; and their ex-

istence in such numbers and with such an organization as to constitute an active, and powerful, and increasing party in the kingdom, is a circumstance which undoubtedly lessens the security of the state. Still they are Protestants, and being so, they acknowledge no foreign jurisdiction; their allegiance is imperfect, but it is not divided; no case can be imagined in which the head of their religion could call upon them to disobey their temporal sovereign, or to act against him. Their discipline is not dangerous to the state, and none of their doctrines or practices are, in their immediate and obvious effects, injurious to society. Therefore they are entitled to the fullest toleration; they are not excluded from the legislature; and the Test Act, by which alone they were affected for the last hundred years, affected them incidentally, not by design, that act being expressly intended 'for preventing dangers that may happen by Popish recusants.' Indeed the show of reason, as well as the sense of shame must be laid aside by the Romanists, before they can complain of any restrictions, however rigorous, under which they may be placed in a Protestant state. We will not say to them, 'with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again:' God forbid that this maxim, in its temporal application and full extent, should ever be enforced

against them ! There are no religionists, there never were any, on whom the *lex talionis* would fall with such terrible severity. But we will say that, with such limitations as humanity requires, and as our faith enjoins, no sect is entitled to ask for more toleration than it is willing to give, and than it actually gives wherever it is dominant. If our principles are declared by them to be so pernicious, that a Protestant however blameless, however amiable, however virtuous and pious, must necessarily be excluded because of them, from the kingdom of heaven,—surely they ought not to complain, as of a grievance and injustice, that the British Protestant Government has deemed it necessary, because of theirs, to exclude them from seats in the legislature, and from a few offices in the state.

“ So much for the principle of toleration, as urged in favour of further concessions to the Roman Catholics.

“ ‘ The matter (to use Mr. Burke’s words) does not concern toleration, but establishment. The complaint arises from confounding private judgment, where rights are anterior to law, and the qualifications which the law creates for its own magistracies, whether civil or religious. To take away from men their lives, their liberty, or their property—those things, for the protection of which society was introduced—is great hardship and intolerable tyranny ; but to annex any

condition you please to benefits artificially created, is the most just, natural, and proper thing in the world.’”

“The Roman Catholics (said the late Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1805) have obtained all that belongs to toleration. After the 18th of his Majesty, which removed from the Roman Catholics the restraints that affected the grant and acceptance of leases, and provided against the consequences of the conformity of the son with the Established Church, so far as those consequences concerned the estates of the Roman Catholic parents; blotting for ever from the Irish statute book, that corrupt and unhallowed motive of conversion: after the 22d of his Majesty, which enabled the Roman Catholic, on taking the oath of allegiance, to purchase and dispose of lands in like manner as his Majesty’s Protestant subjects, and on the same terms, freed the ecclesiastic of that persuasion from the pains and penalties of former acts; after the statute of the same year, authorizing Roman Catholics to teach schools, and giving new facilities to the guardianship of Roman Catholic children: after the 32d of his Majesty, which removed disqualifications from lawyers and attorneys of that persuasion, sanctioned the intermarriages of Protestants with Roman Catholics, and repealed laws that prohibited foreign, and embarrassed domestic education: after the 33d of his Majesty, which was said to have left the Ro-

man Catholic nothing to ask, (and well might the assertion be credited,) after the 33d of his Majesty, which swept from the Irish statute book almost all the disqualifications of that description of his Majesty's subjects, modelled the oath of allegiance to the taste and scruples of the Roman Catholics, put down the oath of abjuration, the declaration, the sacramental test, and enabled the Roman Catholics to vote at elections, to hold commissions of the peace, to execute offices civil and military, and to enjoy all manner of places of trust and emolument, except such as relate to the Established Church, and such as are expressly specified in the body of the act; after this long string of statutes, each of which, in its turn, was supposed to comprehend and redress all that was of grievance among them, they have no just cause of complaint. They are as free as the Protestant in the acquisition, in the enjoyment, and in the disposal of property of every species; they can purchase lands, settle their estates, and enjoy all the profits of commercial industry equally with him; they possess every benefit of civil liberty as fully as any other subjects.

“The question is not whether they shall have a full toleration; they have it already. It is not whether they shall be protected in their persons and in their property; they are under the protection of the same laws as the rest of the King's subjects:—but whether they shall unconditionally share in every part of political power. The

religious restraints, under which the petitioners once laboured are already removed. And we must no longer speak of *pains* and *penalties* * as attaching to the religion which they profess, when they are empowered by the law of the land, to exercise their religious worship, and to maintain their religious opinions, with the same freedom, as the members of the Established Church.

* “ Dr. Troy, in a pastoral letter dated Dublin, 25th of May, 1798, makes a warm and handsome eulogy on the large share of civil, political, and religious rights with which the Roman Catholics were now legally invested. But another prelate, Dr. Moylan, expresses the same sentiments so much better, that I would prefer making use of his words. ‘ I would have you,’ says he, addressing the Roman Catholics of his diocese, Cork, 16th April, 1798, ‘ I would have you not unmindful of the blessings you enjoy, and the favours you have received : certain privileges excepted, *you possess the advantages of the Constitution.* The *penal laws* under which our fathers groaned, *have been almost all done away.* You have the comfort of exercising your holy religion without control ; and to the benignity of government and the liberality of Parliament, we are indebted for the establishment and endowment of a Roman Catholic college on an extensive plan, which *will* afford a liberal education to our youth, and a supply of clergy to our Church, when the present generation have finished their career.’ ‘ *These are favours that should excite and call out all our gratitude ; and this gratitude we should evince by a steady attachment to the Constitution,* an unshaken loyalty to our gracious Sovereign,—a Sovereign who has done more for the Roman Catholic body, and, indeed, for this kingdom in general, than any or all of his predecessors.’—See Rev. Dr. Phillpotts’s very able and powerful Letter to Mr. Canning, p. 128-9.”

We are not, therefore, concerned with the question, whether we shall extend their religious liberty; for of that liberty they are already in complete possession. We are concerned with the question whether we shall extend their *political power*. And surely we may venture to oppose an extension of political power without incurring, either the charge of intolerance, or the charge of inhumanity."

III.

That Roman Catholics can found no claim to further Privileges on the ground of abstract right.

"THE argument (again observes the Quarterly Reviewer) which demands these further concessions on the ground of justice, rests on no better ground. We hear much declamation upon the abstract right of every man to worship God as he pleases; and, in God's name, who—but the Roman Catholic--disputes it? It is a right which has long been enjoyed by every denomination of sects in these kingdoms, which every man exercises at his own peril, and from which there is nothing in the laws, usages, or disposi-

tion of the nation to restrain him. To such an extent, indeed, has this admitted right been abused in latter days, that every one among us is practically at liberty not only to worship God as he pleases, but to blaspheme His holy name, deny His existence, and take his own way to perdition, and publicly endeavour to persuade as many as he can to accompany him! But though any monstrous consequences may follow as the effect and punishment of such an abuse, they must be very inconsequential reasoners who would infer as a corollary from the admitted right, that all men, whatever religious tenets they may profess, should be equally eligible to all offices in the state.

“ ‘ Care ought to be taken,’ said Mr. Burke, ‘ that men do not, under colour of an abstract principle, deceive themselves. Abstract principles are what my clumsy apprehension cannot grasp: I must have a principle embodied in some manner or other, and the conduct held upon it ascertained, before I can pretend to judge of its propriety and advantage in practice. But of all abstract principles, abstract principles of natural right are the most idle, because the most useless and the most dangerous to resort to. They would supersede society, and break asunder all those bonds which have formed the happiness of mankind for ages. I will venture to say, that if we go back to original abstract rights, there would be an end of all society !’

“The exclusion which is represented by the Emancipationists as contrary to abstract rights and natural justice, is consistent with the general system of society; something analogous to it appears everywhere in the affairs of common life. He who is not in possession of landed property to a certain yearly value, or in assured expectation of it by inheritance, is disqualified for a seat in the House of Commons. Persons who are educated and stationed in the lower grades of life, are disqualified for familiar intercourse with those whom fortune has placed far above them. The man who is below a certain standard in his stature, is disqualified for a grenadier, though he might be as brave as Tydeus. A Quaker is disqualified by his opinions for the army or navy, and for very many of the common offices and ways of life. The whole society of Bible Christians, who have published a ‘New System of Vegetable Cookery,’ adapted to their anti-carnivorous principles, are disqualified for the beef-steak club, and even for partaking of a parish feast. It may be an evil to be poor, a disadvantage to be diminutive, a misfortune to have inherited or imbibed sectarian tenets; but in the disqualifications which result from such an evil, such a disadvantage, such a misfortune, no hardship is felt, no injury is inflicted, no injustice is complained of. A Protestant is disqualified for the dignity of Vicar Apostolical, Bishop *in partibus*, Cardinal, or Pope. And

the Pope himself if he were Turkishly inclined, and wished to remove from the *malaria* of Rome to the delightful climate of Constantinople, could not exchange the tiara for the turban, and become Grande Mufti, unless he qualified as a Musselman. Every thing is subject to certain conditions; and the condition which the constitution requires from its legislators and its chief magistrates, is, that they should profess the Protestant faith. That faith is an essential part of the British constitution, and if men who are opposed to it covet and desire seats in the legislature, it is much more reasonable for us to require that they should change their opinions, than for them to demand that we should change the constitution of these kingdoms. 'In a Christian commonwealth,' (says Burke) 'the church and the state are one and the same thing, being different integral parts of the same whole.' 'No man,' says Mr. Kendal, 'was ever yet in possession of civil rights under a constitution of civil government to which he refused his allegiance: and every man refusing the Protestant faith of this kingdom, refuses its constitution.'"

When, in the year 1825, Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Plunkett grounded one of their arguments for emancipation on the principle of natural right, Mr. Peel thus replied:—"Next, the honourable baronet, and my right honourable and learned friend rest this claim upon the ground of natural right. And here again I di-

rectly join issue with them both. My right honourable and learned friend goes even so far as to argue, that we have no more right to exclude Roman Catholics from civil office, than we have to divest them of their property. He places the spoliation of property and the exclusion from civil office, on precisely the same footing, but he admits that both may be sacrificed to considerations of paramount necessity; but then that necessity must be clearly established. I cannot allow that the subjects of this country have any such claim as an abstract right, and I do not believe that the doctrine was avowed or maintained until comparatively recent times; I mean, until the year 1790. Let us look for a moment at the great periods in the history of the constitution. Previously to the Reformation there was unanimity in religious opinions: there was no dissent, and consequently no motive to exclude, and no reason for guards or checks; for it is to be observed, that these regulations now complained of, are not so much checks on the privileges of the subject, as guards that have been introduced from a reasonable jealousy.

“Now, what has been the practice of the constitution since the Reformation, when religious dissent first became important? I say, that the last three hundred years have afforded a practical contradiction of the doctrine laid down by the supporters of the claims of Roman Catholics. At the time of the Reformation, the oath of Su-

premacv was administered ; and from the reign of Elizabeth up to the present moment, that oath has been enforced, and has operated to the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from office and from seats in this House. My right honourable friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, says that the law of exclusion had its origin only about an hundred and fifty years ago, but I deny the position ; it had its origin with the first rise of dissent in matters of religion.

“ What, let me inquire, has been the doctrine maintained by the most celebrated public men on the subject of exclusion from civil offices. I have had occasion before to refer to opinions entitled to the highest respect, especially from those honourable members to whom I am particularly addressing myself. A conference was held respecting the bill for Occasional Conformity, and the lords who conducted it, had objected to a measure which subjected to the penalty of perpetual forfeiture of office those who were guilty of the crime of occasional conformity. At the conference they stated this important doctrine : ‘ The lords look on the fixing of the qualifications for places of trust to be a thing so entirely lodged within the legislature, that, without giving any reason for it, upon any apprehension of danger, however remote, every government may put such rules, restraints, or conditions on all who serve in any place of trust, as they shall see cause for ; but penalties and punishments are of

another nature.’* Now, can any thing be more clearly laid down than the distinction here taken between exclusion and penalty? And who were the lords that presided at the conference? The Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Peterborough, Bishop Burnett, Lord Halifax, and lastly, Lord Somers himself.

“Next, let me ask my right honourable and learned friend, what he says to that article in the Scotch act of Union, which permanently excludes Roman Catholics from certain offices? If there be this natural right, and if that natural right be correspondent with the right of property, is it possible to suppose that the great men who adjusted the articles of the Scotch Union, would have allowed this permanent exclusion of the Roman Catholics? And yet without any of those immediate dangers from the power and tenets of the Roman Catholic Church, about which my right honourable and learned friend has spoken as the only causes which could justify such a measure now, the law of exclusion was introduced into that act of Union.

“But, coming to periods nearer our own times, when the dangers from Popery may be supposed to have had less influence, I would call the attention of the House to the debates which took place in 1771, and 1774, on the subject of the Quebec Act,—let us look at the doctrine maintained by Lord Chatham and Lord Camden, re-

* Parliamentary History, vol vi. p. 80.

garding the oath of Supremacy. Both these distinguished men asserted, that the oath of Supremacy was as sacred and as obligatory as Magna Charta itself, or any of the most sacred acts made at any period of our history.

“ Now, can these opinions be reconciled with the claim of natural right? I very freely admit, that, at the conference to which I have referred, the peers who managed it, allowed, that exclusion from office by law was a punishment of the severest kind. But, at a still more recent period of our history, in 1790, when the repeal of the Test Laws was under consideration, did Mr. Pitt admit the doctrine now contended for? Certainly not. Mr. Burke’s dissent at that time, was on the score of danger from the Unitarians; but Mr. Pitt, a supporter of the Roman Catholics, directly contradicted the position of the honourable baronet, and my right honourable friend. It should be recollected, that the Test Laws then under discussion, were enacted with a view to the defence and preservation of the constitution; and Mr. Pitt told the House, ‘ he hesitated not to say, that if distrust were entertained of any one of the three branches of the constitution, it ought to be directed against the Executive power. The persons excluded by the Test Laws, laboured under no kind of stigma; but it was the policy of private life, not to allow any man to manage your affairs, whose principles

you did not like ; but the exclusion of Dissenters could be looked upon as no punishment.'

"It seems to me, that the power of sitting here, or of voting for members, is just as much a natural right, as that for which my right honourable friend contends. Practically we know that, by an arbitrary distinction, persons who have not three hundred pounds a-year, are not allowed to represent their fellow-subjects, and that a qualification of an inferior kind is also required from the electors. If the doctrine of natural right be correct, why are not individuals with two-hundred pounds a year, allowed to sit in the House of Commons, or why have not all the inhabitants of the kingdom a right to send them to it ? The fact is, the right, such as it is, is sacrificed to State considerations. I know that the ground of exclusion in the case of Roman Catholics is different, and I do not say that it is not more mortifying because it is a personal exclusion ; but I say, that the violation of right is the same."

The following remarks on the subject of abstract right, are extracted from Bishop Blomfield's Speech on the Catholic Question, in 1825:—
 "We have heard,—not indeed this evening, although it has been alluded to—but in the previous discussions of this important question, we have heard a great deal of the injustice and cruelty of debarring four or five millions of our fellow-subjects from the enjoyment of their natu-

ral and indefeisible rights. Now, as to the principle, it makes no difference, whether it be four millions of men or four, that are deprived of what is said to be every man's birth-right.* I say there is no difference in point of principle, whatever there may be as to political expediency. If, therefore, we are to argue this question on abstract principle, let the consideration of numbers be put aside, as an element which does not enter into the solution of the problem. If the concessions be just and politic, grant them, were it but to forty; if otherwise, refuse them, even to four millions of claimants.

“But let us examine the meaning of those words, ‘debarred of their civil’ or, as some have said ‘their natural rights.’ Is there any civil right which individual citizens may not be called upon to forego, if public expediency demands the sacrifice? Is not this a principle, which, in some shape or other, must be recognized under every imaginable form of civil government? In our own constitution, favourable as it is to liberty, it is recognized and acted upon, in a degree which seems to have been forgotten by those persons who so loudly denounce the injus-

* The best estimates laid before Parliament in 1825, made the Roman Catholics amount to about 4,800,000, and the Protestants to about 1,900,000, of whom two-thirds were of the established church. The estimates of the Roman Catholic Priests made their flocks about 5,500,000, and the Protestants about 1,600,000.

tice of withholding from any class of men a direct share in the actual government of the country ; for this, simply this, is the civil right which is the present object of contention.

“It seems to me, I confess, to be as unjust in the abstract, to exclude a man from the legislature for want of a certain amount of property, as it is to hold him disqualified on account of certain opinions which affect the integrity and security of the commonwealth. I really am unable, in this view of the subject, to discriminate between the shades of injustice in the two cases. I know of only one answer which can be given to this argument, which is, that in the one case we have a certain test of qualification, in the other an uncertain ; an answer which does not hold good with respect to the Roman Catholics, whose principles, if they are Roman Catholics indeed, are fixed, certain, and notorious. The fact is, that in both cases, a civil right is concluded and foreclosed, because public expediency requires it.

“ But further, this principle is recognized by the supporters of the present bill, and in a manner somewhat extraordinary. The right of electing those who are to legislate for us, is certainly not less sacred than that of having a direct share in the legislation. To take away this privilege, is confessedly a greater violation of natural justice, a more daring inroad into the pale of civil right, than a mere exclusion from the legislature. Yet

this is the very injustice, for so arguing on their own principles, I must call it, which the advocates of civil right now propose to commit upon a gigantic scale—by a sort of compensation, which, to my apprehension, throws into the shade the minor solecisms of the penal code. To admit with safety a few favoured persons to the privilege of legislation, you disfranchise three or four hundred thousand, and deprive them of a much more sacred and inalienable right.* I give no opinion as to the expediency of that measure, I am only arguing that the ablest advocates of civil right are compelled to admit in practice, that it is limitable, and may be restricted or withholden altogether.


“Nay more, in the very measure which now awaits your decision, is this principle acknowledged and embodied, for it proposes to continue and perpetuate the exclusion of Roman Catholics from certain offices of trust and power, to which they have as fair a right to aspire as to a share in your legislative deliberations. Of all judicial situations that of the Lord High Chancellor may well be thought the highest object of ambition to a Roman Catholic, and his exclusion from it the greatest grievance; inasmuch as in the decisions of a judge, who is not confined by the trammels of the statute law, but proceeds upon a discretionary equity, there is the greater scope for

* The Bill to which the Bishop alludes, contemplated the disfranchisement of the Forty-shilling Freeholders.

partiality and prejudice. Yet from this office we are told by one of their own clergy, Mr. Collins, the Roman Catholics would consent to be excluded on account of the great State necessity which requires such exclusion. And this great State necessity he interprets to mean, the general persuasion of the English people that Roman Catholics should be excluded from that high office.

“ I maintain, therefore, that upon the plainest principles which regulate civil society, upon the ground of universal and invariable usage, by the admission and enactment of the framers of this bill, civil rights are limitable by expediency ; and that a capacity to serve the State in offices of trust and power, which is not limitable by the constitution, where there are just grounds for limitation, is such a capacity as is inconsistent with all the forms of government in the world.”

“ Protection (it has been well observed by Sir R. H. Inglis) is the right of every man in civil society ; power is the right of no man. No man has an abstract right to possess power in any community ; it is the free gift of each community to each person, to each class ; and on the principle on which the Constitution of England, consisting indivisibly of Church and State, has refused to give power, except to those who support it so undivided, I entirely concur. The principle (of abstract right) as applied to England, I deny on the authority of all the analogies



of our Constitution. Until there shall be no distinction of civil rights between the copyholder and the freeholder; until there shall be no inequality in political power, as electors, between the freeholders of thirty-nine shillings a-year and the freeholders of forty-shillings a-year; as candidates, between the freeholder of two-hundred-and-ninety pounds per annum and the freeholder of three-hundred; (I say nothing of the anomalies of Scotland—I say nothing of the *caste* of the clergy, who are proscribed, very properly—but still proscribed—as candidates for the House of Commons); until there shall be no difference between the legal infancy of twenty years, and the legal manhood of twenty one, (a distinction as artificial as any of the others); until there shall be no inferiority in the alien-born and the native inhabitant of these countries, both paying the same taxes and liable to the same personal burthens: until, in the progress of universal suffrage, there shall be no difference between the political rights of rich and poor, of boyhood and age, of male and female, I shall not cease to maintain that the Constitution has never vested in any of the inhabitants of England, *as inhabitants*, any political power whatever, or even, in the abstract, any eligibility to power; and, consequently, that no men, and no class of men are entitled to demand here, as natural rights, any political power over their fellow-men; or, indeed, even the capacity of such power in this country. The whole

is a question not of right but of expediency; and as such, may be decided either way without injustice.*”

“ The papist insists upon equality in civil and political privileges as his right, his birth-right, his inheritance from nature. He considers his exclusion from a seat in Parliament, or any other dignity enjoyed by Protestants, as oppression. He no longer solicits but demands. Yet how can that naturally belong to all men, which it is impossible many men should possess? There never yet was any nation where civil and political privileges were thus common. Does the British Constitution recognize any such claim in cases equally pointed? Are we to understand that all its subjects, except these tumultuous Papists, have hitherto enjoyed it? Is there no similar hardship, no exclusion, no deprivation, to render the instance before us less offensive?..... It happens that by law no man can sit in the House of Commons who does not possess landed

* “ I compare not (says Sir R. H. Inglis) the degree of privation by which the Duke of Norfolk, the Premier Duke and Earl of England, is withheld from his seat in Parliament, with the privation by which a freeholder of thirty-nine shillings a-year is withheld from voting at a County election: but I contend that the *principle*, however different the degree *is the same*. The State has arbitrarily and artificially allotted its powers to age, to sex, to class, to fortune, and to opinions: and the question is in every case one of mere expediency, whether more or less public safety, or public danger will be ensured by retaining, or removing any one of those distinctions.”

property producing three hundred pounds a-year. Thus nineteen-twentieths of the educated population are at once cut off from their rights, their birth-rights, their natural inheritance, and what seems wonderful, they are quite unconscious that this deprivation is a hardship. Out of a hundred individuals, at least ninety-eight are in the same predicament; that is, by arbitrary regulation, they are ineligible; from other, but similar deficiencies, they cannot represent the people. Shall we be told that a pecuniary disqualification is less injurious and degrading than a religious one? Why so? For the religious disqualification there are reasons at which no honourable man need feel offence. He is ineligible because his church has no agreement with, no toleration for, that national one which is an essential part of the State; because the Established Church is regulated, as to its discipline, by Parliament; and, consequently, because he, a Roman Catholic, should not legislate on its service, its government, or its endowments. Surely here is reason enough, and obvious enough. But to the claims of him who suffers only from a pecuniary disqualification, what shall we reply? ‘You are inferior, sir, to none of your contemporaries in honour, in education, in ability; you are eloquent and industrious, a skilful man in business, a citizen every way entitled to our confidence and respect; you have no interests inconsistent with the public welfare; no principles, religious or

political, alien from our old establishments ; nevertheless, as your estate produces no more than two hundred and ninety-five pounds annually, without a trick, a shuffle, a subterfuge, an illegal evasion, you are ineligible. The people choose and return you as their representative ; but you must not sit ; you are excluded on account of your poverty, and so are nineteen other English gentlemen out of twenty.' Were candidates for political distinction disposed to be querulous, might they not fill earth and heaven with exclamations against such injustice ? Has the Papist one argument which they have not ? 'What ! are natural rights dependent on the number or the quality of a man's acres ? Do they turn on five pounds more or five pounds less ? Who fixed this qualification ? Did nature ? Did the people ? Who transformed the republican part of our constitution into an aristocracy, and robbed not only the candidate of his honours, or the constituent of his privileges but both of their birth-rights ?' Bah ! they have no such birth-rights—the public good requires that property of some kind and value should be specified—and the amount is rather too low than too high.

“Again—the Protestant clergy in both countries amount to more than thirty thousand ; besides the incumbents and curates of parishes, we have multitudes engaged in study, in education, in our universities, public schools, private semi-

naries, and domestic tuition: now, surely the Roman Catholic gentry will hardly venture to propose a comparison with them in number, influence, learning, morals, or other similar constituents of respectability. Many of these clergymen are connected with noble families by birth, many have incomes independent of their profession. Themselves the national instructors, they are at least as well instructed as any other order in the community; dispersed among the people, they know much better than any other order their wants, their characters, and their interests. And yet all this enlightened and influential profession is excluded from the House of Commons. 'What sacrilege! What impious robbery of sacred rights from sacred persons! In a Christian community, is a Christian teacher to lose his inheritance from nature? Acknowledging this distinction between him and the Roman Catholic, that the one adopts his profession, and the other is born to his religion—do we continue degrading disqualifications only because such a person will endure them? Thirty thousand English gentlemen, pre-eminent in learning, influence, and moral respectability, are incapacitated! Lawyers find leisure for legislation and pass into Parliament by droves,—soldiers or sailors, though they are the immediate servants of Government, may nevertheless represent the people—one profession only is stigmatized by its exclusion! If it should be said in apology for this outrageous

invasion of natural rights, that the pastoral and political offices are inconsistent—and that a parish-priest has professional obligations which require all his best diligence—why not, then, communicate their inheritance derived from nature to those who have no such ecclesiastical duties? Why not give them their choice, at least, and permit an unendowed and unoccupied clergyman to sit in Parliament as long as he continues such? A deacon ordained at twenty-three, who has never yet officiated in any clerical office, stands excluded for life—there is neither retraction nor repentance. It may happen that he can neither become a politician nor a priest.’ And yet no one among all these thirty thousand utters a complaint. The last who proclaimed his grievances, some thirty years ago, was Horne Tooke. The clergy perceive that their disqualification is required by the public good, and that they have no better right *from nature* to make laws as members of Parliament, than to expound or enforce them as Lords Chief Justice.” (*Second Letter of Laternarius in the St. James’s Chronicle*, Nov. 1, 1828.)

IV.

That no claim to any privileges of a political nature can be founded on the Articles of the Treaty of Limerick.

“I LOOK upon that Treaty,” says the Hon. Baronet (Sir F. Burdett) in his speech on the Catholic Question, in 1828, “as the charter of those rights and privileges of which the Roman Catholics have been since unjustly, not to say unlawfully, deprived.—I again assert” he repeated, “that the whole people of Ireland are, by the Treaty of Limerick, entitled to the fullest participation in all the rights and privileges, civil and political, of the British Constitution.”

“This Treaty,” replied Sir R. H. Inglis, “was never used as an argument of right in respect to the matters now at issue, till more than one hundred years after the date of it. I cannot, however, omit noticing here, that though desuetude does not in itself abrogate the sanctions of any public treaty, the hundred years’ silence of the Irish Roman Catholics, as to the support which the Treaty of Limerick gives to their demands, is a strong presumption that the parties most in-

terested in those demands did not at that time regard that Treaty as securing them.

“ I am unable to say how any treaty can be better explained than by the parties at the time : the interpretation to be given by third persons, at any time, least of all by third persons in another age, and in another country, can never be binding, while there is any other mode whatever of determining the intentions of the contracting parties on the spot, and at the time in question. Burnet, therefore, whose words the Hon. Baronet quotes,—‘ they were also admitted to all the privileges of subjects, upon their taking the oaths of Allegiance to their Majesties, without being bound to take the oath of Supremacy,’—cannot be considered as an authority whose evidence ought to have much weight as to the construction of this Treaty, since his history was not *written* till, I think, thirty years after the transactions in question ; and certainly was not *published* till forty-three years after them, i. e. till 1734.

“ I now proceed to the more close analysis of the Treaty. Now, how can this Treaty be explained, how can the intentions of the contracting parties be discovered, except by such considerations as these ? What was the general proclamation addressed by the Lords Justices, as a rule to themselves, to the army, to the enemy, and to the people, in respect to the pacification of Ireland, when the last campaign was opening ?

What were the terms granted to other cities in the progress of that campaign? What the terms refused to this? What the grammatical meaning of the terms actually granted? What the meaning, compared with the state of things in Charles the Second's reign, to which by these terms reference is specially made? What the understanding, at the time, of the Parliament of England and of the Parliament of Ireland, on the one hand?' What the understanding of King James himself?

"In the summer of 1691 the English army in Ireland swept the kingdom, and approached Limerick. As they advanced, they took every fortress and every city which resisted; so that, at last, Limerick alone remained to the cause of James II. Now, in endeavouring to explain the sense in which the disputed articles of the treaty of Limerick are to be understood, I ask, in the first place, what were the general terms intended to be granted by the government in Ireland to those who in the progress of the war might voluntarily submit? Those terms are to be found in the declaration of the Lords Justices, dated 7th July, 1691; and that declaration is, within two years after its date, recited at full length by Story, himself a party in the war, as 'being that upon which the articles of Galway and Limerick, and all the Irish capitulations were afterwards founded.'*

* Story's *Wars in Ireland*, 4to. 1693, vol. I. p. 117—20.

store the forfeited estates to those who shall come in peaceably, they state, ‘ and lest those who are to take benefit by this proclamation may be apprehensive of *being prosecuted for exercising their religion*, though their Majesties have sufficiently manifested to the world by the *rest and quiet* not only Roman Catholics of this kingdom, but those of England have enjoyed under their government, may be sufficient to remove any such apprehensions, we are commanded further to publish and declare, and we do hereby publish and declare, that as soon as their Majesties’ affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this kingdom, *they will endeavour to procure them such further security in these particulars as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their religion.*’ This, then, was the general boon held out to the Roman Catholics to induce them to submit to William and Mary: that is to say, their Majesties would not invoke the penal laws against them; would, so far as they had the means, give to them *rest and quiet* in the exercise of their religion: and (as neither a dispensing nor a legislating power existed in the crown singly) would *endeavour to procure from the supreme authority of Parliament* such further security *in these particulars* as might preserve the Roman Catholics from any disturbance on account of their religion. Slight as, according to this construction, the advantage appears to us, its value must be measured by a

comparison, not with our own situation to-day, but with that of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, at that time, generally, before this declaration, and with that of those Roman Catholics in particular who did not submit to it, and who were accordingly left to make, as they could, their own terms afterwards.

“ Let us see, then, what was the condition of those who declined to accept these terms, and continued accordingly to resist the government.

“ No man continuing to resist the government had under this proclamation any right to any terms whatever. It will be remembered, that, in the preceding year, when the army of William approached Waterford, then perhaps the fourth city in the kingdom, and the garrison demanded as a condition of their surrender the freedom of a private exercise of their religion, that article was distinctly refused.* The same took place in the fort of Duncannon, and both surrendered without any security whatever even for this humble privilege; a sufficient proof, first, of the value which both parties attached to what we should now call so moderate a claim; and, secondly, of the strength of the English party, and of the weakness of those who had resisted them.

“ The army approached Galway, then the second city in the kingdom. As it threatened a long

* See Story, vol. i. p. 109; and Leland, vol. iii. p. 575.

defence, the besiegers consented to grant terms superior to those which had been obtained by Waterford.* Similar terms were granted to the fort of Buffin's Island in the mouth of the Shannon. By the articles of Galway, the private exercise of their religion was secured to the Roman Catholics in the garrison and in the city: the Roman Catholic lawyers were admitted to such liberty of practice as they had in Charles the Second's time, and the estated gentlemen (a phrase explained in a proclamation of the Lords Justices a few months afterwards to mean gentlemen of one hundred pounds per annum,) were permitted to carry a gun and a brace of pistols.

"The north and east of Ireland had now submitted to the English; Sligo at least alone in the north-west held out; and Sligo, I think, was taken while the army was before Limerick. The authority of James had a partial and divided influence in the six counties, Limerick, Cork, Kerry, Clare, Sligo, and Mayo; but the real and almost entire strength of his cause was centered in the city of Limerick itself. I am willing to admit that De Ginckel was empowered to

* Art. x. That the names of the Roman Catholic Clergy of the town of Galway be given to the General on or before Tuesday next; and that they, as well as the laity of the town, shall have the private exercise of their religion *without being prosecuted on any penal laws* for the same, and that the said Clergy shall be protected in their persons and goods.—*Story* vol. ii. p. 168. See. *Postea*, p. 93.

bring the war to a conclusion on almost any terms; but it will be conceded, on the other hand, to me, that King James describes his own garrison to have been at least equally anxious to capitulate.*

“The terms eventually granted by De Ginckel will be best understood by the terms refused by him.

“On the 23d of September, 1691, the garrison of Limerick, after an unsuccessful sally, asked for a cessation of hostilities; and on the 27th of September sent out their proposals, which were these:—1. An act of indemnity for all offences whatsoever, without reference to their date or quality. 2. Restoration of all Irish Catholics to the estates possessed before the Revolution. 3. A free liberty of worship, and one priest to each parish. 4. Irish Catholics to be capable of bearing employment, military and civil, and to exercise professions, trades, and callings, of what

* On the surrender of Galway in the preceding month, 20th July, 1691, Tyrconnel, after making all preparations for the defence of Limerick, “despatched an express to St. Germain to beg either a speedy succour or leave to make conditions for themselves.” (King James’s Memoirs, ii. 459.) He goes on, “But the enemy pressed too hard to give any great hopes they (the Irish) could wait the relief which was to come from a country so remote; they made my Lord Tyrconnel apprehend the army would capitulate in spite of his teeth; and many persons of distinction were so much inclined that way as had like to have brought it about even before the enemy appeared in sight of the town.” (ii. 460.)

nature soever. 5. Irish army to be kept on foot by their Majesties. 6. The Irish Catholics to be allowed to live in towns and cities, to be members of corporations, to exercise all sorts and manners of trades, and to be equal with their Protestant fellow-subjects in all privileges, advantages, and immunities accruing in or by the said corporations. 7. An act of Parliament to be passed for ratifying and confirming the said conditions.'

"Now, whatever be the extent and meaning of these articles, it is clear that the 6th article, if it were found singly, includes every thing which the present Roman Catholics profess to require. It would have placed the Roman Catholics of the kingdom on the same footing as the Protestants. By this article they would have been rendered eligible to places in corporations, to the bench, and to seats in Parliament: in fact, (and I admit it freely, for it strengthens my case,) every thing which has been since granted, every thing which is now withheld, would have been secured. Such would have been the consequences of De Ginckel's acceptance of this article. Did he accept it? His answer was decisive and instant: 'Though he was in a manner a stranger to the laws of England,' (I quote his words from Story's Journal, vol. ii. p. 231,) 'yet he understood, that those things they insisted upon were so far contradictory to them and dishonourable to himself, that he would not grant any such

terms, and so returned them ; and ordered a new battery to be immediately raised to the left of Mackay's fort for mortars and guns. Then the Irish sent again to know what terms his Excellency would please to propose to them ;' and then he sent in the twelve articles which formed the basis of the treaty of Limerick.

" Can there linger a belief in the mind of any man, that De Ginckel, having indignantly rejected terms which directly and specifically secured to the Roman Catholics of Ireland all the privileges which their descendants now require, could have intended by the counter terms which he sent in, on the very same day, to grant them by implication the very same advantages ?

" By reciting the terms allowed to Waterford in the preceding year, and to Galway during this campaign, and the terms refused to Limerick, I have, I trust, prepared the House to follow me in the fair and inevitable construction of the terms actually granted by De Ginckel in this memorable treaty.

" The articles, then, on which the principal stress is laid by the advocates of the Roman Catholics, as sustaining their specific rights, are the first, second and ninth. I will proceed to examine them in detail ; but the whole treaty should be examined to see how utterly impossible it is that any one part of it, or the whole together, can bear the weight now attached to it. Is it to be believed, for instance, that any article of the

treaty can have been intended to convey to the Roman Catholics an equality of civil rights with the Protestants, when another article gives to the noblemen and gentlemen comprised therein, ‘liberty to ride with a sword and case of pistols if they think fit, and keep a gun in their houses for the defence of the same, or for fowling.’ Can any other inference, on the contrary, be drawn from this very Article, than that it was the intention of the victor (an intention admitted by the vanquished) to disarm all who were not specifically excepted? Can it be contended, that all which is now asked, was guaranteed by any general terms in the treaty, if it were necessary to frame a special provision, as was done in the seventh Article, without which no Roman Catholic gentleman, not even the Earl of Lucan himself, could legally have kept a fowling-piece in his house?

“To proceed:—the first Article provides as follows—‘The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second; and their Majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.’

“The honourable Baronet, the Member for

Westminster, last night distinguished between what he denominated the first and the second clause, or division of this Article; the first clause guaranteeing the privileges of the Roman Catholic religion as they existed in the time of Charles II.; the second promising such further security as might preserve the parties accepting these terms, 'from any disturbance, in other words, any civil disabilities, on account of their said religion.'

"Now admitting, what I will scarcely, even for the sake of argument admit, that there is an ambiguity in the latter part of the sentence, which, taken singly, might be open to the interpretation of the honourable Baronet and the Petitioners, I contend, that though he may thus collect *totidem literis*, the sentence which he desires to find in the treaty, the context of the first member of the sentence will disprove his inference, even if I had not already shown how utterly incredible it is, that De Ginckel would have granted, by implication, in the evening, when he was dictating the terms, what in the morning he had indignantly refused, when the terms were proposed to him, and when this particular provision was asked in direct words. The truth is, that the very words in the second clause, '*in that particular*,' obviously connect it with the words of the first clause, viz. "in the exercise of their religion;" and both together confine, accordingly, the mean-

ing of the first Article of the Treaty of Limerick to the free exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion.

“The second article provides more specifically for certain civil rights.

“But, before I proceed to the examination of it, I will stop to enquire into the limitation of the first article, even as to religion, by the words, ‘as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second.’ It was well observed on a former occasion, by the honourable and learned Member for Dublin, (Mr. George Moore,) that the construction would have been very different, if the period referred to had been the reign of James II. instead of Charles II. The reign of James was the more obvious point of reference, if the article had intended to grant to the Roman Catholics of Ireland many privileges, even in the exercise of their religion: in that day they were legally equal, and practically more than equal, to the Protestants. But the victor deliberately fixed on the reign of Charles II. as the period, the privileges of which he was willing to concede to the Irish. Now, what was the state of the Roman Catholics in Ireland at that period? I will not enter into details: they are well given in the work of Dr. Browne.* I will quote no

* Brief Review of the Question, whether the Articles of Limerick have been violated. By Arthur Browne, Esq., Representative in Parliament for the University of Dublin.—*Dublin*, 8vo. 1783.

more than four points:—1. Every person in office had, by early statutes, been long previously required to take the oath of Supremacy: by the 17th and 18th of Charles II. that oath was further required to be taken even by schoolmasters. 2. At that period the Roman Catholics might not, it is true, have been formally and legally excluded from Parliament, but it is quite clear that, by the resolutions of the two Houses (1661), requiring their own members to receive the communion according to the rites of the Established Church, the Peers from the hands of the Lord Primate, the Commons from the same, or from any whom he might appoint, the intention of each house was to exclude Roman Catholics. 3. The English Parliament petitioned the King, that no Papists should be admitted Justices of the Peace: that all licences to Papists for inhabiting within corporations should be recalled. The King complied, as we read in Leland. (III. 466.) It will be recollected, that the Act of Settlement and Explanation, prohibited them from inhabiting within corporations, unless by special licence from the Lord Lieutenant and Council. 4. Roman Catholic Priests were liable to banishment: and the Duke of Ormond, when Lord Lieutenant, exercised the power of the law, and banished all their bishops except three, (Curry p. 93).—Sir, I state these facts historically, to show, if one word of comment be necessary, that even the condition to which in

matters of religion, the treaty restored the Roman Catholics, was not Utopian.

“But it may be asked, what then, did the Roman Catholics gain by this first article? They gained for themselves, and for all the people of Ireland, so far as De Ginckel could grant it, so far as their Majesties could confirm the grant, (the limitations I will presently state,) the right of the private exercise of their religion—a right, as I have already shown, denied to Waterford, and in the case of Galway scarcely granted;* and when it is recollected, that the benefits of the terms so granted to Galway, were confined to its inhabitants and garrison; when it is recollected, that Cromwell, in his Irish wars, had directed his generals never to admit any fortress to stipulate for any parties, except those within its walls; and when it is seen, that the defenders of Limerick stipulated for the whole kingdom, as well as for themselves,—the distinction is sufficiently marked between this and any other treaty made in Ireland.

“I proceed to the consideration of the second article; that on which the honourable Baronet chiefly relied, in his address to the House last night.

“The first article having then relation to religion, the second, I contend, has relation to pro-

* It appears by Story, II., 165, that Major General Tal-
mash was believed to be inclined to lay aside the treaty, *i. e.*
not to grant even such terms to the garrison and town.

perty only. The terms of the first article, whatever they were, extended to all the Roman Catholics of the kingdom : the terms of the second article were limited to the parties therein described :—1. The inhabitants of Limerick, and of any other garrison in the possession of the Irish. 2. The officers and soldiers then in arms. 3. The officers detained in their Majesties quarters, ‘that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and shall return and *submit to their Majesties obedience*;’—the House will notice the expression. ‘These several parties, and all their heirs, shall hold their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all their rights, titles, interests, privileges and immunities, which they and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to in the reign of King Charles the Second, or at any time since, by the laws and statutes, that were in force in the said reign of King Charles the Second.’ The honourable Baronet, with great skill as an advocate, here closed the book from which he read this passage last night, and said, ‘Can there be a doubt as to this treaty. Is it not clear, that it restored and secured the unrestrained exercise both of political and private immunities to the Roman Catholics, as they enjoyed them in the reign of Charles II.? Could any jury draw any other conclusion? ‘For my part’, says the honourable Baronet, ‘I do not see how it is possible for

words more expressly or directly to stipulate for the enjoyment of all rights, public as well as private, by the parties to the treaty, and their heirs.' I was almost induced to interrupt the honourable Baronet at the moment, so far at any rate as to request him to read on; and if the whole construction of the article be not completely changed by the next two lines, I will own myself utterly incompetent to draw any conclusion of law, or of common sense, from any writing whatever. The words which follow, define the rights restored to be rights annexed to estates: * they provide, that the parties subscribed 'shall be put in possession, by order of Government, of SUCH OF THEM as are in the King's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and ALL SUCH ESTATES shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quit-rents, and other public charges incurred and become due since Michaelmas 1688.' I ask, can there be a doubt that the rights here referred to are manorial rights, seignorial rights, and other franchises

* "So in the Articles of Galway: 'IX. That they shall enjoy their estates real and personal, and all other liberties and immunities as they held, or ought to have held, under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, or otherways by the laws of this kingdom,' (the phrase '*other liberties and immunities*,' might imply something of political power, if it were not for the words immediately following,) '*freely discharged from all crown-rents, quit-rents, and all other charges to the date hereof.*'"—Story, II. 165—171.

connected with *property*, and not with *persons*, and which as such might be seized or again restored to the Crown? Upon the construction of this Article, I would appeal fearlessly to the judgment of any jury in England, if my whole property depended on the issue.

“The remainder of the Article provides that the parties therein described, shall, and may exercise their professions, trades, and callings, as freely as in the reign of Charles II., provided that they, and all parties seeking the benefit of this Article, shall take the oath of Allegiance.

“The third Article extends the benefits of the first and second, to parties absent beyond the seas, if within eight months they shall return to the kingdom.

“The ninth Article, one of those on which the honourable Baronet has chiefly relied, one, on the alleged breach of which, the orators of the Association most clamorously insist, provides as follows:—‘The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as SUBMIT TO THEIR MAJESTIES’ GOVERNMENT, shall be the oath aforesaid and no other.’ Can there be a doubt, that the words *submit to their Majesties’ Government*, in this Article, and the words *submit to their Majesties’ obedience*, in the second Article, mean the same thing? Can there be a doubt, that the meaning of the whole, is this: that those whose estates are confirmed or restored to them; those who, laying down their arms, live peace-

ably in future; those who exercise their professions, trades, and callings quietly, shall not be required to take any other oath than the oath of Allegiance to the government? Again I say, can it be supposed that such an Article gave to the Roman Catholics of the whole kingdom a right *by implication* to eligibility to all civil functions and privileges, of Corporations, of the Bench, and of Parliament; an eligibility which had been asked *distinctly* by the same parties, and had been refused decisively, the very same day, by the same victorious general.

“ Limited as this Article is by all analogy, by all fair rules of construction, and by much contemporary evidence, as I am prepared to show, it still conveyed so much more to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, than the Protestants of the empire thought them entitled to receive, that it gave great dissatisfaction. ‘ We, your Majesties’ most dutiful and loyal subjects’ (this is the address of the House of Commons to King William, 4th March, 1692) ‘ crave leave to represent to your Majesty, that the *addition* made to the Articles of Lymerick,’ (I will call the attention of the House to this point presently,) ‘ after the same were finally agreed to, signed, and the town thereupon surrendered, hath been a very great encouragement to the Irish Papists, and a weakening to the English interest there. And as to the additional Article’ (the words above referred to) ‘ which opens so wide a

passage to the Irish Papists to come in, and repossess themselves of the estates which they had forfeited by their rebellion, we most humbly beseech that the Articles of Lymerick, with the said addition, may be laid before your Commons in Parliament, that the manner of obtaining the same may be inquired into, to the end it may appear by what means the said Articles were so enlarged; and to what value the estates thereby claimed do amount.' There is not one word said here about the grievance of power being granted to the Roman Catholics; there is not an allusion to any thing but property restored: that is to say, within a few months after the date of the Treaty, the House of Commons of England present an address to the Crown, recording their deliberate condemnation of that Treaty:—here, therefore, if any where, would have been exposed that aggravation of the evil of the Treaty, as it would have been felt, if by any article of it any Roman Catholic could have claimed political power in Ireland.

“ This was the opinion of the House of Commons of England, almost at the very time when the treaty received its ratification from the Crown. A few years afterwards, in 1697, the whole Parliament of Ireland concurred in the same conclusion; and, by the Act passed for the confirmation of the Articles of Limerick, distinctly proved, that in their judgment, political power was not, and could not be conveyed by any one,

or by all of its articles, to the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

“The other great party interested in the surrender of Limerick, King James II., speaks with considerable satisfaction of the favourable terms which his garrison had obtained; but in the specification of them, he does not seem, even for one moment, to have assumed that those terms included any concession of political privileges. He appears indeed to think that the recognition of the freedom of the religious worship of the Roman Catholics was itself a sufficient advantage, secured as it was, not for the garrison only but for the whole kingdom. His words after describing the siege, are these:—‘Notwithstanding the ill situation they were in, their forts taken, a breach made, and their condition in short desperate, yet they had the courage to insist upon, and the dexterity to obtain, Articles not only for their own security, but which had a respect to the whole kingdom, consulting in the first place the king’s honour and advantage, in getting permission to go,’ &c. (then follows a passage about the numbers so going, 30,000 men;) ‘in the next place, they articted for as free an exercise of the Catholic religion as in King Charles the Second’s time, and a promise to procure a further security from any disturbance on that account: that all the inhabitants of Limerick, all officers, soldiers, &c. in the army, garrisons, or counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork,

Mayo, should upon submission, be restored to the estates they were in possession of in King Charles the Second's time; all persons to exercise their trades, and follow their professions, possess their goods, cattles, &c., as before the war.'

"It is sometimes said, it may be said again, that even if the Treaty of Limerick did not necessarily bear the full construction now put upon it, the benefit of a doubt ought to be given to those who surrendered an impregnable city to a despairing besieger; * and by so doing, fixed the succession of the crown in a Protestant line: and that the Roman Catholics of this day are entitled to claim, if not from our justice, yet at least from our generosity, a large and liberal interpretation of articles so gained by their predecessors. Bishop Burnet, appears to assume † that such a clause, giving the benefit of a doubt to the Irish, really existed; and Mr. O'Connell argues upon it as if he had read it. No such clause exists; nor did the Irish entitle themselves to any thing but the letter of their bond. I have shown their distresses: let me add, that when in a dispute with De Ginckel pending the negociation, Sars-

* "They treated," says O'Connell, of the English generals, "with soldiers having arms in their hands, and being the masters of an impregnable fortress." (Speeches, 1828, p. 54.)

† "The articles of capitulation," says Burnet, "were punctually executed, and some doubts that arose out of some ambiguous words, were explained in favour of the Irish."

field said, 'we are in your power,' intimating that De Ginckel was taking advantage of him, he was answered, 'not so: but you shall go in (again) and then do the best you can.'—(See Story II. 257). But Mr. O'Connell says, that 'before the treaty was actually signed, the French fleet appeared off the coast.'—'Here,' it was said, 'is the succour; drive these invaders back to Dublin; the deed has not yet received seal or signature. Let none of its stipulations be fulfilled.' 'No,' said the Irish chieftains, 'the bond is certainly not executed, but Irish honour is plighted for the performance of its conditions; that honour has hitherto been untarnished; it shall remain so: ' (Speeches, 1828, p. 55). Now, what are the facts? In the first place, let me ask what is the merit of any man, or any body of men, not breaking their honour? But, in the next place, let me remind the House, first, that the fleet did not arrive till after one half of the city was in the hands of the English; and secondly, that the Irish, so far from not taking any advantage of it, did forthwith, 'in consequence,' says Story, 'of the presence of the French fleet in the Shannon,' urge the English general to introduce into the treaty those words—so few but so comprehensive—those words, of which the House of Commons of England complained, as I have already shown;—those words, which restored the forfeited estates to all *such as were under the protection of the*

Irish army in five of the six counties, as well as to that army and to the inhabitants of Limerick. De Ginckel had withdrawn his principal forces towards Dublin; and his instructions being to close the war on almost any terms, he admitted the in-ertion of these words, on the plea that they had been accidentally omitted by the copyist: (a supposition sufficiently improbable, when it is considered that they were the most comprehensive and important in the whole article;) and King William ratified the act of his general: but the Parliament of Ireland, on a full knowledge of these facts, expunged the words, and confirmed the article without them."

V.

That no pledge was given at the Union that Catholic Emancipation would be the consequence of that measure.

"THE next position, (continued Sir R. Inglis,) which the honourable Baronet takes up in defence of the claims of the Petitioners, is the pledge given to them at the Treaty of Union.

"There was not only no official pledge given publicly by the government at the Union, in

respect to this matter : there was scarcely any semi-official declaration by which the public mind in Ireland could be led in any direction at that time. The pamphlet which the honourable Baronet seemed to regard as the manifesto of the government on the occasion of the Union was, though no name appears to it, written by the late Mr. Cooke, then private Secretary to the chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.* The pamphlet to which, as I think, far more attention is due, as representing the mind of the English Government, is the celebrated speech of Mr. Pitt, on the Union. Mr. Foster, at least, the Speaker of the Irish House, regarded it as the authoritative exposition of the principles of the administration in respect to that measure. He complains, that the influence and purse of government has been employed in circulating it, and 10,000 copies had been printed by the King's Printer. Does Mr. Foster find in this speech, so printed, so circulated, any pledge, or even much encouragement to the Roman Catholics ?

“ His words are these : ‘ I will only observe upon it, that Mr. Pitt's language is of such a nature, that one would imagine he had the two religions on either side of him, and one was not to hear what he said to the other. He tells the Catholic in his speech, that it is not easy to say what should be the Church Establishment in this

* Arguments for and against an Union between Great Britain and Ireland, considered.—*Dublin and London, Dec. 1798.*

kingdom; and the fifth resolution states that the present Church Establishment is to be preserved. He tells them, that the time for discussing their situation must depend on two points, 'when their conduct shall make it safe, and when the temper of the times shall be favourable;' and Mr. Dundas adds, 'if ever such a time shall come:' (Speech of right honourable I. Foster, 11 April, 1799, London.) This was Mr. Foster's construction of Mr. Pitt's speech. *He* at least, did not conceive that Mr. Pitt was circulating any distinct and positive pledge to the Roman Catholics: *he answering Mr. Pitt at the time*, did not collect from that speech any assurance on the part of Mr. Pitt to that body, that, if they would support him in his object, he would support them in theirs. Let the House judge from Mr. Pitt's own words:—

“ ‘ By many I know it will be contended, that the religion professed by a majority of the people should at least be entitled to an equality of privileges. I have heard such an argument urged in this House; but those who apply it without qualification to the case of Ireland, forget surely the principles on which English interest and English connexion has been established in that country, and on which its present legislature is formed. No man can say that in the present state of things, and while Ireland remains a separate kingdom, full concession could be made to the Catholics without endangering the State,

and shaking the constitution of Ireland to its centre.

“ ‘ On the other hand, without anticipating the discussion, or the propriety of agitating the question, or saying how soon or how late, it may be fit to discuss it, two propositions are indisputable :—First, when the conduct of the Catholics shall be such as to make it safe for the government to admit them to the participation of the privileges granted to those of the established religion, and when the temper of the times shall be favourable to such a measure : when these events take place, it is obvious that such a question may be agitated in an united Imperial Parliament with much greater safety than it could be in a separate Legislature. In the second place, I think it certain that even for whatever period it may be thought necessary after the Union, to withhold from the Catholics the enjoyment of those advantages, many of the objections which at present arise out of their situation would be removed, if the Protestant Legislature were no longer separate and local, but general and imperial.’ (Speech of right honourable W. Pitt, on the Union.—Wright, London.)

“ I might quote much more from other members of the government, and others, supporters of the measure ; but, as they are only the public speeches of private men, and not clothed with the authority of a speech from the Throne to the two Houses, they could not, even if they con-

tained distinct pledges to the Roman Catholics, do more than bind the individuals who delivered them.

“The right honourable gentleman, the Knight of Kerry, states that there were private pledges given by the Irish Government, to the Roman Catholics, in order to secure their support of the Union; that he himself was a member of that government at that time; and was not merely cognisant of the fact, but a party to it. But admitting, as I admit all his facts, I ask again what do they prove, except the obligation which such pledges imposed upon those who gave them? They left no obligation on others; they could attach no obligation upon the King, or upon Parliament.

“In the first place, there was no official body to whom pledges of a public nature could be given; there was no recognized organ of the Roman Catholics, with whom the government could communicate: all the intercourse was from individuals to individuals. The nearest approach to an assembly supposed to act for the Roman Catholics, was the meeting of the Prelates of that communion then sitting in Dublin; and though they deliberated on the question of a state-provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy, it does not appear that the larger subject ever came before them. In the next place, the Roman Catholics could do little in the matter, if in return for any pledges made to them, they had

been disposed to exert themselves in support of the Union. They had not then sitting, a rival Parliament, or Association, the resolutions of which might have been accepted by their brethren throughout the island.

“In the last place, Mr. Plowden, one of their own Church, and no mean authority on the subject, says distinctly, that though they ‘generally gave all the weight they could command to Mr. Pitt’s proposition for the Union,’—‘though the predominant interest of the Catholics was certainly in favour of the Union, no public act of the body ever passed upon it: many Catholics in Dublin entered into very spirited and judicious resolutions against that fatal measure, and several of the most independent and best informed Catholics individually opposed it. Of all the King’s subjects, the Irish Catholics had eminently the most reason to oppose the Union by which they lost their own consequence’ :—(Plowden’s Ireland, since the Union, vol. ii. p. 120.) If, therefore, any pledge had been given, it does not *fully* appear, that the condition on which only by the argument, it is assumed to be binding, was, on their part, fulfilled.

“But no pledge was or could be given, except by individuals; and no pledge was given, even individually, by many whose names are quoted on these occasions. The late Lord Auckland, referring, in his speech on the Roman Catholic Question in 1805, to the Union, in the arrange-

ment of which measure, he states himself to have been much engaged, distinctly declares that if the concessions were in the contemplation of the government, they were industriously concealed from him and others of their associates.—(Parl. Debates, 13th May, 1805, p. 826.) Above all, in 1805, Mr. Pitt, has distinctly denied that any pledge was given by him.—(Parl. Debates, 14th May 1805, p. 1015.)

“The utmost that can be made out is briefly this, that Mr. Pitt was not directly and in words, and to the Roman Catholics, but by conviction, and to his own conscience, pledged to bring forward his measure for their relief. That measure he found that he could not bring forward with the authority of government; and therefore he resigned his office, and thus redeemed his ‘pledge.’ Let no man accuse Mr. Pitt of breach of faith to the Roman Catholics: every expectation which they were entitled to form, as raised by him, he realized at a cost to himself, greater almost than any mind except his own could measure. What greater object could there have been to a mind like Mr. Pitt’s, than to have closed the war which he had commenced? What greater object could any man at any time have resigned, than power was to a mind like that of Mr. Pitt? Yet his favourite projects of foreign policy, and his own unrivalled station he resigned, when he found himself unable to carry into

execution his wishes in favour of the Irish Roman Catholics.

“And, on another branch of this subject, let it always be recollected, that in taking office again, without stipulating for any measure in favour of the Roman Catholics, he violated no pledge to them. The paper in which Lord Cornwallis used the word *pledge*, as applied to the members of government retiring in 1801, was an ‘unsigned, undated paper, hastily given by me,’ says Lord Cornwallis to Dr. Troy, ‘to be circulated amongst his friends, with the view of preventing any immediate disturbances or other bad effects, that might be apprehended from the accounts that had just arrived from England; and if I used the word *pledged*,* I could only mean that, in my opinion, the ministers, by resigning their offices, gave a pledge of their being friends to the measure of Catholic Emancipation; for I can assure you that I never received authority, directly or indirectly, from any member of administration who resigned his office at that time, to give a pledge that he would not embark again in the service of government, except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained.’

“Admitting, however, that there *was* a pledge, all that can be said is, though the illustration is familiar, that the government of 1801 finding

* The word is used.—Plowden’s Ireland since the Union, vol. I. p. 46.

themselves unable to carry on their engagements, threw every thing up, and took the benefit of the insolvent act: but when they returned to the world, they were at liberty,—assuming again that there had been a pledge,—to consider that pledge redeemed, and a new account opened.

“After all, I am surprised at the doctrine, and still more at the quarter from which it comes, as if the opinions or even the pledges of a minister, were to be binding not only upon himself and his colleagues, but upon his Sovereign and upon Parliament. Admitting to the utmost, for the sake of argument, the positiveness and solemnity of every pledge assumed to have been given by Mr. Pitt to the Irish Catholics, the pledges were for his best exertions, and could not have been for the success of them.”

VI.

That, as far as regards the admission of Papists to political power, no valid argument can be drawn from the examples of other states.

“Nor (says the Quarterly Review) is the argument more tenable which affirms that we

ought to deal with the British and Irish Catholics as Austria and Russia deal with those of their subjects who hold any other form of Christian faith than that of their respective church establishments. The case is not similar, what is demanded here not being employment in the state, (which, with very few limitations, they already possess,) but legislative power,—which, in Austria and Russia is not exercised by deliberative assemblies. If it be rejoined that this also is conceded to the Protestants in France, and secured to them by Charter, neither will that case apply, for upon the slightest consideration it must be apparent that the circumstances of the two nations are widely different. The Protestants in France are an inconsiderable body, and with so little zeal for proselyting, that no efforts for that purpose appear to have been made by them during the revolutionary years, or under the Imperial government, when the attempt might have been made, certainly with safety, and perhaps at one time to the satisfaction of the Emperor. The privileges which the charter allows them were obtained, not by their own influence or efforts, but by the liberal party, comprising the Buonapartists and the revolutionists of every grade, as well as the friends of just and regulated liberty. Moreover, as Dr. Phelan has well observed, there are two important differences, which must always be kept in mind.

‘ First, a Protestant clergy contracts no obli-

gations to a foreign power : if Protestant ministers in France or Germany took oaths of allegiance, and were otherwise in subjection to the Archbishop of Canterbury, we should probably hear but little of Roman Catholic liberality. Secondly, the Roman ritual has an aggressive publicity, the *free* exercise of which would be an invasion of the freedom of other religions : Protestants have no procession of a Host, or a crucifix, or a statue of the Virgin ; neither do they compel men to a cessation from business, on the festivals of saints or reputed saints.'

"The circumstances, therefore, under which the Protestants exist in France are so dissimilar to those in which the British and Irish Roman Catholics are placed, partly by the tenets which they profess, and partly by their aggressive movements, that no precedent can be drawn for one country from the course which is pursued in the other."

"They tell us of other nations," says Sir J. Copley, "and they talk much and loudly of the extraordinary liberality which prevails in several nations of the continent of Europe, with respect to religions which are not established in those states. Austria and France have been referred to as examples of this liberality. In the former of these, I have understood it to be said, that in no country does a spirit of liberality more fully prevail. If we look into the circumstances of that country, we shall see that there is not one point

in which she can be said to be in the same situation as England. It may be true that in that country there are no distinctions as to religion ; but every body must know that all the members of the church and hierarchy of Austria are appointed by the civil government of the country. The same observation may be made with respect to France, and it will equally apply to all the other Roman Catholic countries of Europe ; and therefore, I say that the arguments founded upon their liberality are not to be pressed upon us, since their situation is not analogous to our own—since they exercise a control over the choice of the members of the church, and of the hierarchy, which we do not possess. There can, therefore, be no comparison instituted between what is done in the states to which I have alluded and what is done here. In them the church is established by law, and at once pays obedience to and receives support from the civil government.

“ But here, we are required to establish an hierarchy owing no obedience to the crown—holding uncontrolled sway over the minds of a large body of the people—carrying on a correspondence—over which government will possess no check—with a foreign state, to the opinions and maxims of which every man in Ireland will look for the rule of his conduct, and the authority of which he will acknowledge in every respect, while he pays no attention or obedience to our government. I say, therefore, that considering

these circumstances, I am fully justified in asserting that there is no analogy between the state of things in those countries and in this, and consequently, that we are not to be fettered by the arguments which are pressed upon us as drawn from the examples of those states."

"The Protestant religion," observes Lord Stowell, "is not deeply incorporated in their civil constitutions; if civil constitutions they have; most of them being despotic states, in which the prince has a ready corrective in his own hands, for any inconvenience which may be apprehended."

"The argument *ad verecundiam*," says Sir R. Inglis, "by which, looking at the liberality of 'all other Protestant States,' as the case is described, we are to be shamed into a concession of the demands of our Roman Catholic countrymen, is founded on the assumption, not merely that the fact is so; namely, that all other Protestant states do admit Roman Catholics to equal civil privileges, but above all, that the situation of the British Empire is, interiorly, the same with that of the several states brought forward as examples; and therefore that it is as wise and safe for her to pull down all those barriers, which all men admit were once necessary for her, as it is for the other states in question not to erect them."

"Mr. Gally Knight assumes in his pamphlet, that 'England is the most illiberal of all civilized

countries;’ and, to the same effect, a noble lord states, I think, in his letters to the late Sir George Lee, that the only exceptions in Europe to universal toleration are Spain, Turkey, and England; and that, therefore, it is with Ferdinand VII. and the Grand Seignior, that Great Britain must be content to run the race, and divide the prize of bigotry; that in short, no other States profess to found on the religious distinctions of their subjects any claim on the one hand, or any impediment on the other, to the attainment of civil honours.

“I deny the fact; though even if I admitted it, I could easily show that it is of no use in the argument, unless the circumstances of the several countries shall be precisely the same with those of the United Kingdom.

“It is true, that at the Congress of 1815, the old laws in the several States composing the Germanic body were altered, as stated in papers before this House; but to this day the religion of Sweden is Lutheran;* and the laws in Sweden against persons of a ‘foreign religion’ appear by the papers on the table of this House, to be very severe. (Supplementary Papers, 1817, p. 41—43.) In respect to one provision, there seemed, in 1809, to be some relaxation; but it is immediately followed by this rule, ‘such only as profess the true Evangelical

* Charles John, the present king, was compelled to conform to the Lutheran Church on entering the country.

Creed,' (I read from the Supplementary Papers of 1817) 'can be appointed to be Ministers of State, Counsellors of State, Counsellors of Justice, Secretaries of State, *men in all civil offices*, and Judges within the kingdom.' And in the following year there appeared another regulation from the Diet, established by the King and States General, 'Persons professing any other doctrine than the Reformed one cannot be adopted as Members of the Diet; but the right of election cannot be refused to those who are Christians.'

“ Now, as to Denmark. From a paper drawn up by the celebrated Schlegel, and transmitted to Lord Castlereagh by Mr. Foster, then the King's Minister at the court of Copenhagen, that gentleman draws this conclusion, which I will read from his dispatch: 'From this paper it appears, that the laws of Denmark prohibit the Roman Catholics generally from exercising their religion within the kingdom, and that whatever liberty of worship particular communions of men may enjoy, exists in virtue of special favours conferred upon them; in Holstein, by the ancient Sovereigns of that country, which were afterwards confirmed by the Kings of Denmark; or, in Denmark itself by the Danish crown, out of regard to the French and Austrian Missions.'

“ Denmark, it is true, is an almost absolute monarchy; and perhaps the Sovereign who to-day prohibits the Roman Catholic worship, may

to-morrow call a Roman Catholic to his councils, having always the uncontrolled power of dismissing him the next day: but in a small and free State adjoining Denmark, the State of Hamburg, there appears, when the returns which I quote were made to this Government, to have been in 1816, the same system of exclusion which our new authorities tell us is confined to Turkey and to Spain. 'The right of public exercise of religion, as also the rights of the dominant Church, remain solely reserved to those who profess the Evangelical Lutheran religion; also especially in *civilibus*, and namely for the faculty of places of honour in this place, burghers, collegiis, officiis, services of the town, and whatever else may be in this way.' (Appendix to Report, 1816, p. 464.)

" 'The subjects of the crown of Portugal,' says Mr. Chamberlain in his dispatch, 'must be Catholics, at least outwardly: they are not permitted to be otherwise.

" 'Foreigners of different persuasions are not molested on that account; but with the exception of British subjects, who, by the Treaty of 1810, are permitted to have chapels and churches, under certain restrictions, they have no right, nor would they be permitted, publicly to celebrate divine service.'*

* Dispatch from H. Chamberlain, Esq., Chargé d'Affaires at the Court of the Prince Regent of Portugal. Rio de Janeiro, October 30, 1816. Suppl. Papers, 1817, p. 15.

“Now to revert to freer States: let us look to Switzerland. In the Roman Catholic Cantons of Switzerland, with the exception of Soleure, and a late addition to Fribourg, the Roman Catholic religion is the exclusive religion of the State. Even in the democratic cantons, the cradle of Swiss liberty, ‘the Catholic faith is the exclusive religion of these cantons, none other is tolerated.’ (Suppl. Papers, 1817, p. 21.)*

“I will now confine myself to Prussia, on which most stress has been laid. I ask, then, is there no difference between the power enjoyed in Ireland by the Roman Catholics, of bearding the legislature, if not the law, by their association meetings; and the power enjoyed by the Roman Catholics in Prussia, where no public meeting whatever would be allowed? Is there no difference between a country where every product of the Press is free, where all the proceedings of all the incen-

* “In all the cantons in which Protestantism is dominant, the Roman Catholics are free: except, indeed, I think that in Basle they would not be allowed to have monastic institutions; ‘more particularly,’ says the authority transmitted by the British Minister to his government, ‘since the Pope, forgetting what he owes to Protestant princes, has re-established the Jesuits and the Inquisition, and laughs at the liberties opposed to his own ultra-montane principles.’ I may add indeed that in Appenzel the established religion of each half is exclusive: ‘no Catholics are admitted into the Protestant division of the canton.’ (p. 32.) I remember two years ago asking a most respectable man in Zurich, within a day’s journey of these ‘most free of the free States,’ whether, by the general international law of the confederacy, the natives of one canton

diaries of Ireland are circulated with impunity ; and a country where, if technically there be no licenser, it is sufficiently known and felt, that no work obnoxious to the government can be published with safety ? Is there no difference between a population of six millions concentrated in one island, with an O'Connell and a Shiel at their head, brandishing their physical force against us, while they urge us to add to it political power ; and a population of two-thirds of the number, scattered over an immense area, without any political leader or bond of union, and without a whisper of an expression of hostile design ? Is there no difference between a country where nineteen-twentieths of the property is in the hands of one class, perhaps not a third in number ; and a country where the population and the property are nearly equally divided, and where, therefore, it is not necessary to keep political power in one scale, in order to maintain the balance of the other ? Is there no difference between a country where offices of trust and power in corporations are elective, and a country where all magistrates are nominated by the crown ; and where, as Ellys said long ago, ' the government need not fear having more persons

might not settle in any other ? He replied, certainly, in *law* ; but, in *fact*, no Protestant could buy the least land in any of them ; and when I urged again the law, he said, the Protestant cantons will not go to war with them to enforce it."

than they desire in public posts of a religion different from the established one;’ being themselves in this respect absolute, ‘they want no standing laws to keep them out?’ Is there no difference between a country, the government of which is itself largely vested in an elective body, (which body, if the power were granted to the Roman Catholics to-morrow, would, in ten years, receive from the popular elections in Ireland, an immense and most influential accession of Roman Catholic members; the Protestants, whether friends or foes, being weeded out one by one;) and a country where there is no elective body, and no power, therefore, except in the king and the law? Is there no difference between a country where the king cannot deprive the meanest subject of his liberty, and cannot check the speeches of an O’Connell, or the letters of a J. K. L., except by tedious and perhaps uncertain processes; and a country where, if a demagogue were to rise up, whether layman or ecclesiastic, he would be sent at once to Spandau or to Magdeburg? Is there no difference between a country, the bishops and the people of which, so far as they are Roman Catholics, resist all interference on the part of the crown with their ecclesiastical appointments, and say that a veto would be death to their faith; and a country, all orders and degrees in which, the Roman Catholic and Protestant hierarchies, are equally and willingly subject to the control of the Sovereign?”

“One of the most common reproaches,” observes Lord Bexley, “urged against the opponents of the Catholic claims is, that we are now the only intolerant and persecuting nation remaining, and this sarcasm is repeated till some at least of those who use it must be supposed to believe it. They forget that in Spain and Portugal, with the exception of a very limited toleration to foreigners, no Protestant is allowed to live; that in the new states of Spanish America, though admitting the most revolutionary systems of government, the principle of religious toleration has been uniformly rejected, and that even the right of sepulture was not long since refused to British officers; that in Piedmont the Protestants are confined to a few narrow mountain vallies, beyond which they are not allowed to possess property or exercise professions; that in other parts of Italy they are tolerated by connivance; and that in these, and all other Roman Catholic countries, without exception, the use of the Bible is denied to the laity by the ecclesiastical, and in most by the civil authorities.

“There remain,” he continues, “the instances so much relied upon of Prussia, France, and Holland, where it is said that all citizens enjoy equal rights, and toleration, philanthropy and concord universally prevail. The government of Prussia is so different from our own, (as having no legislative assembly,) that no analogy can

be drawn between them; but the state of religion in that country is understood to be any thing but satisfactory, notwithstanding the endeavours of the present king to introduce a better state of things.

“In France the Roman Catholic church had received such a shock from the events of the Revolution, that its power could not possibly be restored, and a principle of toleration unavoidably took place, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the late Pope, who, at great personal risk, opposed Buonaparte’s endeavours to introduce religious freedom.

“But the state of France is so far from being one of religious peace and union, that it is easy to see the symptoms of a great religious struggle in that country, which may end in some tremendous convulsion.

“In the kingdom of the Netherlands the analogy with our government completely fails. Ours is a Protestant government, formed by the union of two Protestant kingdoms, having an established Protestant church in Ireland as well as in Great Britain, but containing a great number of Roman Catholics and other dissenters.

“The kingdom of the Netherlands, on the contrary, is an union of two parts; in one of which the Protestant, and in the other the Roman Catholic, is the established religion. It was therefore impossible that they should unite upon any other terms than those of religious equality;

and a *concordat* was, with much difficulty, obtained from the Pope, regulating the religious condition of the Roman Catholics.

“By this concordat the nomination of the Roman Catholic bishops was virtually placed in the hands of the King, though they were to receive the investiture from the Pope.

“The King accordingly proceeded to nominate seven bishops to the vacant sees; but of the seven, the Pope confirmed only the bishop of Namur, and the other sees still remain vacant. We may judge, from this example, of the probability of a concordat for Ireland producing general union and tranquillity, even if it could be obtained on satisfactory terms; but we know that the Irish prelates, in 1825, declared, before the committees of both Houses of Parliament, their resolution to submit to any persecution rather than admit the interference of the government in their ecclesiastical appointments.”

PART SECOND.

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION may be argued on the ground of expediency, the only ground upon which its advocates can make out the shadow of a case, (and even that ground is not tenable by them); but it comes to a question of religion at last, and "that whale," as Horace Walpole says, "must swallow up all gudgeon questions." We will therefore consider, first, the folly and danger of granting further privileges to Roman Catholics on the ground of Political Expediency; and then devote the remainder of our Text-Book to a brief view of the gradual growth and nature of the papal power; the nature and origin of the tenets peculiar to the Church of Rome; the doctrines inculcated by the Jesuits; and the unchangeable spirit of the Church of Rome, as evinced more especially by the contents of the breviary.

The folly and danger of granting further privileges to Roman Catholics on the ground of Political Expediency, will, I think, sufficiently appear from the following considerations :—

1. That concession has not hitherto led to conciliation.
2. That the evils with which Ireland is afflicted do not proceed from the civil disabilities under which Roman Catholics labour, and would not be lessened in the slightest degree by the removal of those disabilities.
3. That the real object of the Catholics is the overthrow of the Protestant religion.
4. That the proceedings of the Catholic Association, and the incendiary speeches of its members, show the folly of expecting that conciliation would follow concession.
5. That the Pope's spiritual authority is inseparably connected with temporal power; and that therefore the allegiance of a Roman Catholic is a divided allegiance.
6. That the duties of a member of Parliament are incompatible with the principles of a Roman Catholic.
7. That the admission of Roman Catholics to Parliament could not but be attended with great danger.
8. That the warmest advocates of the Catholic claims once thought securities necessary to guard against danger to the Protestant religion.
9. That accordingly certain securities were actually proposed, to which the Catholics twice assented, and twice retracted their assent.
10. That all securities however would prove unavailing, from the Pope's acknowledged power to dispense

with the obligation of an oath. 11. That nothing but duplicity and dishonesty can be expected from Catholics where the interest of their church is at stake. 12. That Popery is as intolerant as ever. 13. That the tyranny of the Church of Rome over literary productions, is as great as it was in the darkest ages.

I.

That Concession does not lead to Conciliation ; argued from the altered tone of the Roman Catholics since concessions have been made to them.

The miseries of Ireland, and the fearful disturbances which prevail there, (occasioned mainly by incendiary orators,) are acknowledged on all hands. How, then, are these evils to be remedied?—"By conciliation, exclaims the whole host of confederated concessionists: this it is which is called for by the orators-general of the Catholic Association, who breathe out their brazen menaces from 'throats wide as their consciences;' and the cry is echoed by the last new converts who have been cajoled or intimidated into the unholy alliance. But as parliamentary reform had a very different meaning in the

understanding of those who meant to stop at Hounslow, from what it bore among that division of the reformers whose intention it was to proceed till they came before the middle window at Whitehall: so does this word, conciliation, mean more or less, according to the principles of the person who uses it. Earl Grey and Lord Grenville attach no such signification to it as is attached by Lord King; and when Sir Thomas Acland and Mr. Grant join in voting for it with Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hume, they would find themselves, if they came to compare meanings, in widely different degrees of latitude. In one thing only are all the advocates for this undefined and undefinable conciliation agreed, and that is, that, whenever the subject is agitated in Parliament, the golden opportunity is arrived, they have reached the *τό νῦν*, the moment of projection, the point of time in which the great work is to be accomplished."

"That concession will conciliate and satisfy the Roman Catholics is at least contrary to past experience; the fact being, that while restriction was most severe, the Roman Catholics were most quiet; and ever since concessions have begun, they have been most dissatisfied, and their demands have progressively increased. The fact only is stated.

"When conciliation and satisfaction, therefore, are held out as advantages which would follow from concession, past experience renders

it probable that the expectation of those consequences may be disappointed."

Let us look to the remarkable change in the language of the petitioners for emancipation, since concession has been tried, as noticed in the speech of Sir R. Inglis, in 1828.

"I proceed (says he) to compare the language of the Roman Catholics of former times, before their existing measures of political power was conceded to them, with their later language. It will thence be seen whether concession be conciliation—whether the Roman Catholics, when all penalties on their religion, as such, were removed, were not better subjects than they are now, when political power has been given to them, and they are seeking for more. I will take only declarations made by the Roman Catholics subsequent to the period when the freedom of their religion was restored in 1782. And first I will quote the language of Dr. James Butler, titular archbishop of Cashel.

"The work which I quote is an answer to the celebrated pamphlet of Dr. Woodward, bishop of Cloyne, and speaks of the state of the Roman Catholics before they were permitted to enter on the career of political power. In this work,* which is of a controversial nature, and in which,

* The work is entitled, "Justification of the Tenets of the Roman Catholic Religion, and a Refutation of the Charges brought against its Clergy by the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Cloyne. By Dr. James Butler."—1787.

as such, he might be supposed rather to have magnified the evils, than exaggerated the blessings of their condition, Dr. James Butler speaks thus justly and gratefully of the then existing situation of the Roman Catholics. He speaks of the duty of the Roman Catholics, as ‘a grateful body of people towards the sovereign and the legislature, under whom we have derived so many and great immunities.’ (p. 10.) He says, ‘We had heard the trumpet of persecution . . . blow its last. The storms and clouds of an inauspicious century had been dispersed by the mild sunshine of peace, and the harmless Catholic reposed under his vine and fig-tree safe and unenvied.’ (p. 14.) This was written, let it be remembered, in the interval between the period in which the Roman Catholics first obtained security for the exercise of their religion, and that in which their appetite was first whetted by a taste for political power. I will continue to quote Dr. Butler: he is speaking of the insurrection in the south, the Whiteboy system, &c., and he says that, ‘when the first troubles broke out in the south, the most active exertions in their power were used by the Roman Catholic clergy to bring back their deluded flock to a sense of duty, order, and obedience. We exhorted them in the name of our religion; we threatened with the fear of punishment from that Almighty whom their wickedness might provoke. We argued upon the impolicy, and pointed out

the ingratitude of irritating a legislature, whose power to depress us had been so manifestly evinced in the very privileges it had opened to us.' (p. 29.) Compare this with the language of Dr. Doyle in 1825, not writing under the initials J. K. L., but in his own avowed character. 'If a rebellion were raging from Carrickfergus to Cape Clear, not a priest would denounce it from the altar.' There is a strange and wonderful difference between the language of the Roman Catholic Bishop, who forty years ago considered that the secure exercise of his religion, the freedom of his property, and the personal privileges restored to him, were inestimable advantages, and the language of the Roman Catholic Bishop of the present day, who wishes to raise his creed to political power.

"So much for the declarations of the Roman Catholic Prelates; I will not, however, confine myself to such evidence—I will place before you the declarations of the Laity; and I will call upon you to mark the difference between the language of the addresses of the Roman Catholics thirty years ago, and the language of the petitions presented at present. I have endeavoured to find some place which sent addresses at both periods, in order to contrast the difference in their language, but I have not been able to find exactly any such; but I will compare an address from two places in the county of Wex-

ford, in 1797, with the general address of that county in 1827.

“ The people of Moyacomb and Barragh, fifteen hundred and sixty-one in number, assembled at Clonegal Chapel, in the county of Wexford, declare as follows :—‘ We the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parishes of Moyacomb and Barragh, think it incumbent upon us at this crisis of internal disturbance publicly to declare our unalterable attachment to his sacred Majesty King George III., and that most excellent constitution which his mild and paternal reign has restored to us. Loyalty has ever been the distinguished trait of the Catholic body ; superadded to this we have now a common interest to defend : his Majesty, in admitting us to the constitution, has bestowed on us an invaluable heritage : and we solemnly promise at this altar, in the presence of Almighty God, that we will cling to him, and defend him, and that heritage which he has conferred on us, if need be with our blood.’

“ Now the language of the last petition which I can find ‘ of the body of the same county’, is that the parties are ‘ excluded from the free constitution of these realms ;’ (Journals, 1824, p. 446) ; they, the Roman Catholics, who thirty years ago, declared that they had a common interest in it with ourselves, and professed their gratitude to their sovereign for bestowing on

them so invaluable an heritage. 'They have learnt by experience,' said some other petitioners last year from two parishes close to Clonegal, that 'the exclusion of seven millions from their rights and privileges, has been the source of perpetual discord and discontent.'—(Votes, 1827, p. 632.)

"I have now placed before you a singular contrast between the Roman Catholic as he was before you gave him a draught of political power, and as he was in the first hour of enjoying it; and, on the other hand, the Roman Catholic as he is, now that, having obtained what then appeared his object, he asks, dissatisfied, for more. I ask you to tell me what you have gained in the loyalty and good order, and affectionate submission of your Roman Catholic subjects, by all your concessions? Are you authorized by your experience of the past, to expect that your future concessions, if you yield more to their claims, will be attended by more favourable results? The claims of the Roman Catholics in the beginning were humble and obscure; they are now shrouded in clouds and darkness; and it is hardly possible to say to what extent they may aspire :—

*Parva metu primo; mox sese attollit in auras
Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila condit.*

"I correct myself: this is not strictly the case; they have looked down from their cloud, and have

shown their fronts openly, and told us at once what it is which they demand. They demand open, absolute, unqualified emancipation.

“ So much for the progress of demand among the Roman Catholics, whether priests or laity, individuals or in bodies. I will now consider the language of their supporters in Parliament. The House will recollect that, from the commencement to the close of the reign of our late excellent king, measures were continually in progress to meliorate the civil condition of all his subjects. The Roman Catholics shared largely in these benefits. One by one, as has well been said, each link of the penal chain was loosened, every manacle unfastened, and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland went forth without fetters among the people. I will not detail the history of the acts of 1772 and 1778. I will go on at once to the proceedings of 1782. Then was brought into the Irish House of Commons the first great Bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics. It was moved by Mr. Gardener: he said, that he limited his claims on their behalf to five points, the object of his wishes and his hopes, but not of his expectations or plan, since he thought that he perceived a spirit so hostile to the concession of the fifth, that he excluded it from the bill which he subsequently brought into the Irish Parliament. The five were as follow :—the first related to their right of property ; the second to the exercise of their religion ; the third to the

education of their children; the fourth to their marriages; and the fifth and last, to their right to carry arms: the last, the right of self-defence, was the one which Mr. Gardener thought it imprudent to press. Not a whisper was then heard about the elective franchise, not one word about eligibility to Parliament; not one word about the army, the navy, corporations, the Cabinet, or the Crown. Even on the first point, that of property, what was the language of Mr. Grattan? He said, ‘three years ago, when this question was debated in this house, I do declare I was somewhat prejudiced against granting to the Roman Catholics estates in fee; but their conduct since that period has fully convinced me of their true attachment to the country. I give my consent to the clause in its principle, extent, and boldness.’—(Irish Debates, vol. i. p. 257—259.)

“If Mr. Grattan, in 1782, thought himself a bold man in granting to the Roman Catholics the measure of 1782, what must he have thought of his own boldness.—I ask, what opinion we ought to form of it—on finding himself, within ten years afterwards, urging their claims to an almost unqualified emancipation?

“In the same debate, Mr. Grattan said, on the first clause about popery; ‘It is a clause of union and incorporation; it says, Countrymen, that have been so long separated from us, we hold out our hands to you; we are willing to

become one people; we are willing to grant you every privilege compatible with the Protestant ascendant.* At that time Mr. Grattan was not ashamed of the words, or of the things signified by the words 'Protestant ascendancy.' Such was the limitation, without which Mr. Grattan was not prepared at that time to think of granting any boon to the Roman Catholics. But what said Mr. Grattan in 1793? 'He must be a visionary politician, who imagined that after what had been granted to the Catholics, they could long be kept out of the State: for (added he) the barrier which you have now erected cannot stand; it is in vain keeping out of the offices of the state, the men whom you have admitted into the Constitution.'—(Irish Debates, p. 363, March 4, 1793). It is said that I allow no change or modification from enlarged experience or deeper reasoning. I deny the charge. But I say, that in elementary questions of civil government, the principles are permanent, and ought not to be

* Definition of Protestant ascendancy by a high constitutional Irish Whig in 1792—"By Protestant ascendancy (said Mr. Sheridan, cousin of R. B. Sheridan) he meant a Protestant king, to whom only being Protestant we owed allegiance; a Protestant house of peers, composed of Protestant lords, spiritual in Protestant succession, of Protestant lords temporal with Protestant inheritance; a Protestant house of commons elected and deputed by Protestant constituents; in short, a Protestant legislative, a Protestant judicial, and a Protestant executive, in all and each of their varieties, degrees, and gradations."—Irish Debates, vol. xii. p. 135.

hastily embraced, or as hastily exchanged; and I ask, if there be no security in the language used by the advocates of the Roman Catholic claims in 1782, against a change of opinion, not merely in their successors, but even in themselves, in 1793; what security have we against any change of opinion in the honourable member for Westminster, or in his successor, only ten years hence, on this most important of all political questions? Having granted in 1793 what was then considered so much, and is now considered so little, what security have we, that, if we shall grant still more in 1828, the same parties may not again turn round upon us and say, 'you have done nothing, you have given nothing, you have left the Roman Catholic as an insulted and degraded being; he still cannot be Lord Chancellor; he still cannot be king. The heir apparent is the only person in the kingdom who must sacrifice his conscience or his inheritance!' What security have we, that we shall not be called upon to release the 'suffering millions' from the payment of tithes to a Protestant priest, or perhaps, to make Protestants pay for a Roman Catholic church there, and then surrender the whole island to 'the religion of the people?'

"In 1792," (says Mr. Peel,) "the Roman Catholics came forward, and asked to be rendered capable of holding the office of magistrates, and of enjoying the elective franchise. They wanted, they said, nothing more; and those persons

grossly maligned them, who said that their wishes went further. . . The elective franchise was conceded even more fully than they requested it ; and Roman Catholics were permitted to serve as well on grand as on petty juries. Since these concessions, has there been any diminution of party feeling and factious animosities ? My belief is, that after they obtain those privileges which they seek, they will not cease in their endeavours, but will struggle for the pre-eminence of their religion :—

“ Still to new heights their restless wishes soar,
Claim leads to claim, as power advances more.” *

How justly may we apostrophise the Irish Catholics in the language of Mr. Townsend :—
“ Since the solemn compact at the Revolution, we have rescinded many unjust laws against the members of your communion. What has been the consequence ? When the government was severe, you gave us no disturbance. In the same proportion as we have repealed the ancient obnoxious and severe statutes, you have increased in presumption, till you now threaten, or cajole, or insult the legislature. With every concession, you have demanded more. You were oppressed, and you petitioned for relief. From relief you proceeded to demand toleration ; from toleration you required a participation of the elective franchise, admission to the bar, honour in the army and the navy. You required pro-

* See Speech of Mr. Peel, in House of Commons, 1825.

tection for your religion, education for your clergy, the removal of proscription; all have been granted. You have obtained influence; you now demand power." (See *Accusations of History against Church of Rome*, page 343.)

II.

Real causes of the evils with which Ireland is afflicted, and absurdity of supposing that Catholic Emancipation could have any effect in removing them.

Catholic Emancipation is sometimes represented as the panacea for all the evils under which Ireland labours. Let us take a short view of the nature of those evils, as noticed in the speeches of Mr. Dawson, and the present Bishop of London, in the year 1825, and we shall see how little the withholding Catholic Emancipation has to do with inflicting these evils, how utterly unavailing it would be (if granted) in effecting their removal, and how very little it would be thought of by the Irish peasantry but for the Irish agitators.

"It is, I conceive," said Mr. Dawson, in his speech in the House of Commons, 1825, "a most fortunate circumstance, that the evidence

from the Committee appointed to inquire into the state of Ireland, is laid before the public at this particular time; it contains a volume of information respecting the condition of the people, their habits and circumstances; respecting the operations of the laws, both local and general; respecting the nature and effect of every institution, both public and private, such as never, up to this time, has been condensed together. In this evidence an impartial mind will discover, without difficulty, the condition of every class, Church-of-England men, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, pourtrayed by those most qualified to give a description, from constant intercourse; it will lead you into the cabin of the peasant in every part of the country; into the house of the landlord; into the mysterious recesses of the land agent and the tithe proctor; into the halls of justice, whether at assize, quarter-sessions, petty-sessions, or manor courts; it will lead you into the Protestant church, the Presbyterian meeting-house, and the Roman Catholic chapel; it presents a view of the population in their domestic habits, as labourers, mechanics, and tenants; and details the obstacles against their improvement, arising not more from their own habits, than from the administration of the laws; it presents a view of the population as part of a political body, influenced by the disabilities which the law has imposed upon a great portion of the people; and it presents a view of

the characteristic marks of distinction which the profession of different creeds has stamped respectively upon Protestant and Roman Catholic.

“ With this mass of information, it will not be difficult to discover the exact effect which the Roman Catholic disabilities produce upon the Roman Catholic population; and I was greatly surprised to hear from such competent witnesses as Mr. O’Connell, Dr. Doyle, and Dr. Kelly, how very little the great body of the people is affected by the disqualifying laws. That the greatest wretchedness exists amongst them, is beyond doubt: that poverty, that want of employment, insubordination, distrust in all the established institutions of the country, fraud, perjury, and immorality, arising from that distrust, exist to a frightful extent, is beyond all doubt; but that Roman Catholic emancipation is the cure for these evils, or one which is regarded by the peasantry in any other light than the gratification of religious bigotry, is what these gentlemen have not ventured to assert.

“ Let us, for a moment, consider the picture which Mr. O’Connell has drawn of the Roman Catholic population in the counties of Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Clare. It is to be observed, first, that he describes the effect of the disqualifying laws of the Roman Catholics to be among the upper classes, discontent at being excluded from certain offices in the State, which

lead to honour or profit; and among the lower classes, a soreness and irritation on account of the spirit of superiority exhibited by the Protestants; let us contemplate, for an instant, the picture which he has given of the population in those four great counties, and see, according to his own statement, how insignificant the operation of such feelings must be, and how perfectly hopeless the repeal of all the disqualifying laws would be, in improving the condition of the people. We must recollect, that he describes the Roman Catholic population in the counties of Limerick, Clare, and Kerry, compared with the Protestants, as one hundred to one; he says, the Protestants are universally in favour of Catholic emancipation; it is evident, therefore, that in that part of the country, there can be no insolence or domination on the one side, or soreness or irritation on the other; it is, in fact, a Roman Catholic population, the habits and pursuits of the people are all Roman Catholic; the common business of life is carried on according to Roman Catholic maxims and Roman Catholic regulations, and unless Mr. O'Connell periodically came down to tell them that they were the most oppressed people in the world, because he cannot become a member of parliament or a judge, they would not trouble their heads about Roman Catholic emancipation, as long as they found the causes of their misery and degradation

so much more tangible, so much more intelligible to them, so much more felt in the every-day intercourse of life.

“But what is the condition of the people? Mr. O’Connell says, that the condition of the labouring classes is so bad, that it is astonishing how they preserve health: there is a total privation of every thing like comfort; and their existence is such, that the inferior animals of this country would not endure it. Their houses, or cabins, than which it would be impossible to have any thing worse, are built of mud, covered partly with thatch, and partly what are called scraws, and but miserably defended against the winds and rains of heaven; that they have no furniture, not a box, nor a dresser, nor a plate, and indeed scarcely any utensil except a cast-metal pot to boil their potatoes in; that their bedding consists in general of straw; that a blanket is a rarity, that they are without bedsteads, and whole families, both male and female, sleep in the same apartment; that they have but one suit of clothes, or more properly rags, no change in case of wet or accident, and that their food, throughout the greatest part of the year, consists of potatoes and water; during the rest of the year, of potatoes and sour milk; that there is no regular employment for the people, and that the rate of wages when they are employed varies from sixpence to fourpence a day; that money is an article hardly known by the Irish peasant, and yet, notwith-

standing the scarcity of this commodity, that the land-jobbers set their land according to the corn-acre system, at the enormous rent of eight or ten pounds an acre. The consequence of these enormous rents, and the great avidity of the Irish peasant to possess land, which, in fact, for want of employment, is necessary for his subsistence,—the consequence is an extraordinary increase in the number of sub-lettings, so it happens not unfrequently, that there are six or seven persons between the proprietor in fee and the actual occupier.

“But how does Mr. O’Connell describe the state of society in which such a state of things is suffered to exist? How does he describe the effect of the law passed to check these evils, and the conduct of the people towards each other in the daily intercourse of life? In consequence of these sub-lettings, the spirit of litigation is increased, their dealings with one another are frequently complicated, and they are invariably harsh and unfeeling towards each other in pecuniary matters. The appeals to courts of law are numerous, and on the most trivial occasions; but when they do appear the most frightful immorality is exhibited. The obligation of an oath is disregarded; the flippant and distinct swearer is always successful; to have a conscience is an inconvenience, and parents employ their children, at the earliest age, to be their witnesses in courts of justice; to get rid as soon as possible of the

ties of conscience, and to think falsehood and perjury the only means of successful litigation.

“Mr. O’Connell then proceeds to describe the effect which the laws have had in checking the evil habits of the peasantry in these counties; and no wonder that he is much disappointed at their result. Laws are made to regulate and guide society, to guard against the frailty of human nature, to protect the weak against the strong, and to give a practical evidence of the advantages of order and regularity over force and lawlessness; but, in order to be useful, laws must be kindly administered, and unless there are agents to carry them into execution, it would be just as well to have no laws at all. Such is the unfortunate condition of this part of the country, the *materiel* for executing the laws is so bad, that justice is a total stranger to these districts; the laws which have been found good in more favoured parts, are here the very cause of tyranny and oppression. The unfortunate people seem to labour under a political curse; the order of nature is reversed, and the vine-tree is made to produce the thorn, and the fig-tree to bear the thistle. Mr. O’Connell says, that every act of Parliament passed since the peace, has had the effect of depressing the people, and rendering their condition worse; nor does he confine himself to the laws passed since the peace; he seems totally to forget that it is the administration of the laws by the Roman Catholics them-

selves, and not the laws, which is the cause of the depraved condition of the people. How else can a law be found useful in Ulster, and injurious in Munster?"

"If there be one fact," said the present Bishop of London, in 1825, "which the evidence put lately into your lordships' hands more clearly establishes than another, it is this; that up to a very recent date, the disturbances in Ireland have had nothing to do with Roman Catholic disabilities. The calamities of that unhappy country have a far different origin. She labours under the malignant influence of a more deeply-seated, a more inveterate, but I trust in God, not an incurable disease. It was stated, in evidence, by a distinguished member of another House, that the proximate cause of disturbance in Ireland, is the extreme misery of the peasantry: the remote is to be found in what he justly designated a radically vicious state of society—a state, which, if your lordships will condescend to hear the opinion of one so inexperienced in political questions, I should say, requires the most prompt and vigorous measures of statistic legislation. It is, indeed, such a state of society as exists in no other Christian country; where the chief proprietors of the soil are absent, and their places supplied by persons of inferior education, and, what is worse, of immoral habits; a system of tenancy engrafted upon tenancy, which, by an almost inconceivable climax of extortion, wrings at length from the miserable cultivator of the soil,

more than the soil itself produces; where whole provinces obstinately adhere to absurd and obsolete usages in direct opposition to the common and statute law of the realm.

“Such a state of society as this is to be corrected, not by such measures as that which is now before the House, but by other measures of a more comprehensive and efficacious kind; by the adoption of a more equitable system of tenure; by a purer administration of justice in its inferior departments; by an alteration of the revenue laws; by the establishment of manufactures and the extension of commerce; by the introduction of an effective system of education; and last, but not least, because it would lead the way to all the rest, by the return of the proprietors of the soil.

“Relief from the evils of such a system, is the emancipation of which Ireland stands in need: this is the emancipation which would raise her from her degraded state, by rescuing her sons first from sloth and reckless poverty, and then from ignorance, superstition, and insubordination. When this comprehensive act of justice shall have been done; when these effectual remedies have been applied, and their effects perceived in the civil and moral improvement of her population, then it will be time enough to talk of further concessions of political power.

“It appears that until the year 1823, the great body of the Roman Catholics cared but little

about what is called emancipation; and even now, their notion of it is, according to one witness, the restoration of their church to its ancient supremacy; according to another, the recovery of the forfeited estates.* Whichever of these expectations they may entertain, and I think it probable that they entertain them both, it becomes the House to consider, whether if this bill be passed into a law, it will satisfy the great mass of the Roman Catholic peasantry, when they find that it confers upon them neither of those boons; although in effect it carries one of them in its train? To what lengths their feelings of disappointment may drive them, if the measures should not be carried, I pretend not to foresee. I confess I am not altogether free from apprehension. But be those feelings what they may, this I will venture to assert, that they owe their existence to the artifices of a few political agitators—I use

* “Ask them what Roman Catholic Emancipation is, and so totally ignorant are they about it, that some say it is an exemption from tithes: others, it is to lower rents; others, that it will save taxes! In short, all who have heard of it (for many neither know nor care about it) will give you their own conjectures of whatever claim, debt, or demand, public or private, they wish to be freed from: scarce any believe it to be what it really is, a struggle for a few offices of political influence, or seats in Parliament, which the lower ranks cannot enjoy, and feel no interest in. These lower ranks do not, and cannot urge what they neither want nor comprehend. It is not, therefore, they who call for this measure.”—Speech of Lord Oriell, 1805.

the term advisedly and deliberately, for one of the most conspicuous of their leaders, not long ago, thanked his God that he was an agitator — a knot of men, who have thrown this leaven into the mass, predisposed from other causes to ferment, in order that while the vast body heaves and swells under the process, they may themselves be lifted to the surface.

“This view of the subject is amply justified by the evidence before your lordships’ committee. It was not till the Catholic Association commenced its operations that the great body of the Roman Catholics in Ireland began to think much of emancipation as it is called; a question, which, as it directly affected only a few, was not likely to trouble the repose of the many; who, if they had been permitted to enjoy in any fair proportion, the produce of their honest labour, would have cared but little for the exclusion of a few of their richer brethren from Parliament. That it has not hitherto been to them a cause of discontent, is proved by the fact, that their propensity to outrage and lawless violence has not diminished in proportion to the successive relaxations of the penal code. In fact, they hardly know that such relaxation has taken place; a plain, an undeniable proof, that former concessions, far exceeding in number and importance those which remain to be made, have had no effect whatever on their conduct or their comfort.

“It is also a proof that those persons on whom

the Roman Catholic peasantry depend for information and instruction, have thought fit to withhold from them that knowledge, which, if imparted, would have been a persuasive to loyalty and contentedness, and a sedative at least to feelings of insubordination. The motives of that class of persons who have kept the people in ignorance of those benefits, which were represented to be of vital importance to them, I pretend not to assign. But this I will say, that it is precisely the line of conduct which would have been pursued by those, who, having a far greater and more perilous object of enterprize in view, would treat as insignificant and trivial all the preliminary points of conquest. It is consistent with the policy of skilful engineers, who regard the successive removal of barriers and outworks only as opening the way for an assault upon the citadel. Such would be the policy of these, who value even the admission of their lay brethren into Parliament, only as facilitating the accomplishment of their grand scheme, the establishment of the Roman Catholic upon the ruins of the Protestant Church :

‘ Actum, inquit, nihil est, nisi Pœno milite portas
Frangimus, et media vexillum pono suburra.’ ”

“ But if,” says the Quarterly Reviewer, “ what is called emancipation would not, in its widest extent, satisfy the Roman Catholics, without ulterior measures, (of which undefined expectations we know what are the end and aim,) can it be

expected that it should satisfy that class of Irish who are represented by Dr. Mac Nevin in America, and act under Captain Rock in Ireland? What says O'Connor to this? 'Degenerate sons,' he says, 'who have so entirely lost all relish for liberty, as to prophane the sacred name by identifying it with admission into the foetid temple of corruption, and call their treason *Emancipation!*' What says the incendiary who writes in Captain Rock's name? 'Catholic Emancipation is of no avail, and only calculated to open wider the door to claims of greater importance.' And again: 'Now, at the end of all these many days of many years, the account of all the spoliations, massacres, degradations, and insults heaped on the Irish people, is proposed to be balanced by the one *pitiful* item, *Catholic Emancipation*. This measure, instead of spreading contentment throughout the land, would heighten the fever of the Irish mind to a pitch of phrenzy, occasioned by disappointment: for assuredly the Catholic body will derive no advantages from the concession of their claims, though founded on truth, reason, and justice. Ye oligarchy of England! emancipate the Irish slaves, and some few traitors will, no doubt, enlist in your ranks; howbeit you will derive no greater portion of power from their desertion of their fellows than what the mere individuals bring: their ephemeral influence, potent for raising a whirlwind, will vanish on the instant.' This is

a bold rebel, who speaks as he thinks, and in this instance tells the whole truth. No concessions can satisfy the republican party, (a growing party, dissemble it who will, both here and in Ireland,) nor those who are bent upon separating the two countries, in whatever that separation might end. As little, alas ! would Emancipation remove or tend to remove any one of the many evils which have rooted themselves in that long misgoverned kingdom—a kingdom in which it has too long been manifested to how great an extent

‘ Power might without goodness be,
And base subjection without loyalty.’ ”

III.

*That the real object of the Roman Catholics is
the overthrow of the Protestant religion.*

“ It is a sagacious remark of Horace Walpole’s, ‘ that large bodies are only led by being in earnest themselves when the leaders are not so.’ The multitudes whom the Irish demagogues have put in action (and whom they represent as millions) are in earnest, because their views are national and religious ; not to mention that Irishmen of their class, are always in earnest when they are

in hopes of a fray. Were it not that they suppose Catholic Emancipation is to put an end to tithes, taxes, and rent, they would care as little for the men who have raised the storm, as those men care for them, or their religion, or their country.

“ ‘ When things of evil aspect are to do,
The first cause is not named ; but, commonly,
Some slight, remote, co-operative cause,
Whereto the people knit them soul and body.’ ”

“ Most truly was it observed of Popery, in the remonstrance of the Commons to King James the First, ‘ It hath a restless spirit, and will strive by these gradations. If it once get but a connivance, it will press for a toleration ; if that be obtained, they must have an equality ; from thence they will aspire to a superiority, and will never rest till they have got a subversion of the true religion.’ ”

“ The Roman Catholic religion, is a religion of ambition, of encroachment ; and its nature is continually to aim at the possession of something beyond that which it had heretofore possessed. The Roman Catholics consider, and have always considered, the Protestants as a people by whom they have been supplanted, and that the Church property is property that has been wrested from their hands. Is there then any person in this country, who can seriously think that the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which possesses unbounded sway over the minds of the Irish people, would

ever suffer Ireland to remain tranquil, while some object or other was yet to be obtained—that it would ever cease its exertions, day after day, until it had obtained not what is named Roman Catholic emancipation, but Roman Catholic ascendancy?”

“*Catholic Emancipation*,” says Dr. Doyle, “will not remedy the evils of the *tithe system*: it *will not allay the fervour of religious zeal*, the perpetual clashing of two churches, one elevated, the other fallen, both high-minded, perhaps intolerant: it *will not check the rancorous animosities with which different sects assail each other*. It *will not remove all suspicion of partiality in the government*, were Antoninus himself the viceroy: it *will not create that sympathy between the different orders of the State, which is ever mainly dependent on religion*. Withal, Catholic emancipation is a great measure, and of itself not only would effect much, but *open a passage to ulterior measures*, which a provident legislature could without difficulty effect.”

“The Protestants are in possession of all that is valuable in Ireland; their estates, no matter whether rightfully or wrongfully, have been wrested from the Roman Catholics. The establishments of the country conferring emolument and honour, are all Protestant; the Church conferring a splendid provision upon its ministers, and the corporations giving station, and power, and influence to its members, are all Protestant,

and have all, at no distant period, been in possession of Roman Catholics.

“Is it possible, therefore, to think that all the solid advantages can be on one side, without exciting a hope of enjoyment on the other? Can Protestants and Roman Catholics really unite together when such tempting objects are open to the Roman Catholics, and when a public clamour has already been begun against the Protestants? Will the Roman Catholics be satisfied to see every Protestant institution rolling in wealth and splendour, whilst his own are in poverty and distress? Will he submit to have his churches, his convents, his schools, his colleges, supported by alms, whilst his Protestant rival revels in the enjoyment of Roman Catholic possessions? Human nature forbids us to think so; and I must do the Roman Catholics the justice to say, that they have been no hypocrites on this occasion, but have proclaimed boldly and naturally their expectations.

“If power be given to the Roman Catholics, it is vain to think that the two establishments can be co-existent. The wealth and influence of the Protestants are too great to be viewed with passive indifference; and the ambition and overbearing disposition of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and Roman Catholic laity, are too notorious to be satisfied with the empty sounds of equal rights. Their gentry and nobility are ambitious; their priesthood is overbearing, arrogant, and in-

tolerant; and their people, on account of their physical misery and degradation, will become their ready tools for any change, and will make their grievances, no matter whether arising from rents, tithes, or taxes, as much a cause of complaint against their rulers, in order to bring on Roman Catholic Supremacy, as they have already done to bring on Roman Catholic Emancipation.

“It is not whether or not a certain number of Roman Catholics shall become members of the British House of Commons; but the great, the important, the ultimate point to be determined is, whether or not the Protestant Establishment shall continue to exist in Ireland.

“Hear their favourite orators, not unskilled in human nature, select those topics which are most congenial with the feelings of their audience; hear them denounce the Protestant Church as an intolerable nuisance, a baneful pest, an incubus upon the prosperity of the country! Listen to the applause with which these declarations are received, and then judge of the views which the Roman Catholics entertain.

“In a very remarkable speech of Dr. Dromgoole, which was received by a crowded assembly with acclamations of applause, and which was afterwards declared by a priest of his communion to be ‘Catholic, purely, precisely Catholic,’ he thus speaks of the Protestant Church:—‘It shall fall, and nothing but the memory of the

mischief it has created shall survive. It has had its time upon earth; and, when the time arrives, shall Catholics be bound by an oath to uphold a system which they believe will one day be rejected by the whole earth?" So spoke the Popish layman. Now hear the priest, (Mr. Gandolphy), and they are his words, taken from a book, which, although it was rejected by the moderation or the policy of the Vicar Apostolic of his district, was carried to the foot of the Papal throne, received the sanction of the highest authority, and was declared 'worthy of being cased in cedar and gold, and highly advantageous to the Catholic Church.' He says of the English Church, that 'she is the eldest of her heretical sisterhood—a rebellious child—with a hateful eye he views the sickly sprouts which issue from its broken branches—they shall gather it up and cast it into the fire, and it shall burn.' Such are the sentiments at this day avowed by some, and applauded by many more, of that great body to whom we are required to make further concessions of political power.

"As to the property of our Church, I once thought that the Roman Catholic Priesthood cast a longing eye on the tithes. On that point I have been undeceived. They now tell us that they have no desire whatever to appropriate the tithes to themselves; they only intend to take them away from the Protestant Church. Surely there cannot be a more effectual method of de-

stroying an adversary than to deprive him of the means of subsistence. And that this is the full purpose and intention of the Roman Catholics, I prove by the most authentic testimony. I prove it by their own petition, presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Brougham on the 31st of May, 1824. In that petition, and it is a document well worthy your most serious attention, they plainly insinuate that, in order to satisfy them, three things are absolutely necessary. And what are these three things? First, the repeal of the Union; second, the abolition of tithes; and third, the annulling of all corporate privileges. The petition itself was long and comprehensive, and so general was its censure of everything established in Ireland, that it called forth the reprobation of even the honourable and learned member himself (Mr. Brougham), who declined to found any measure upon it, from the certain conviction that the House would mark its indignation of the matter contained in it. The petition, however, concluded with this prayer:— ‘The petitioners therefore pray, that the House will cause a thorough reform to be made in the temporalities of the Established Church; that the House will render Orangemen ineligible to serve as magistrates or jurors; that the House will disfranchise the corporations; and that the House will pass an act to emancipate the Roman Catholics of Ireland.’ Now in order to know what the Roman Catholics mean by a reform in

the temporalities of the Established Church, I must refer to the works of J. K. L., and there I will find that a reform in the temporalities means, to strip the Protestant Church of all its property, and to give its ministers a stipend proportioned to their duties; to take away the churches, in order to restore them to the Roman Catholics; and to put the schools, colleges, and endowments of the Protestant Establishment upon a new footing. The disfranchisement of the corporations, and disqualification of Protestants to serve as judges or jurors, is clear enough.

“ Now it is a curious coincidence, that every one of these objects, which are so fervently sought for by the Roman Catholics in 1824, were actually carried into execution in 1687 and 1688, when the Roman Catholics had unrestrained power in Ireland; and with the permission of the House I shall mention how this was effected, and its consequences. In the year 1687, when Lord Tyrconnell was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and when it was determined in King James’s cabinet to root out the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, the first act of his administration, in order to secure this object, was to remove every Protestant from the administration of justice. The Protestant judges were accordingly removed from the bench, Protestant magistrates from the commission of the peace, Papists were put into their places; every office of justice

from a sheriff to a constable was filled by a Papist.

“ Having succeeded in getting complete power over the lives and properties of the Protestants by the appointment of Roman Catholic ministers of justice, the next object of attack was against the corporations. Accordingly, to use the language of the Roman Catholic petition, the corporations were all disfranchised; their charters were taken away, and new charters given, by which the king reserved to himself the power of displacing any mayor, alderman, or burgess. The corporations, therefore, became the slaves of the king's will, and by displacing all the Protestant members, and filling up their places with Papists, he in fact secured to himself a complete and uncontrollable power over the legislature, and commanded the corporations to return such men to Parliament as best suited his purpose.

“ Having settled these preliminaries, the next step was to summon a Parliament, in order to have the colour of law for the great and comprehensive scheme of destroying the Protestant religion. In 1689 a Parliament met in Dublin; and from the precautions taken by the Government to give orders to the sheriffs to return none but Papists from the counties, and from the complete possession of the corporations by the Roman Catholics, it was just such a Parliament as the most sanguine Roman Catholic could desire. The House of Commons consisted of two hun-

dred and twenty-eight members, eight of whom only were Protestants; the House of Lords consisted of forty-six members, of whom only eight or nine were Protestants.

“ Behold, therefore, the Roman Catholics in full power, and what was the use which they made of it? Their first act was to repeal the Act of Settlement, an act which had been passed in the reign of King Charles II., for confirming the titles of the forfeited estates, and which then, as it does now, formed the title by which more than two-thirds of the Protestant proprietary of Ireland held their lands. This act was repealed, and more than twelve millions of acres left at the disposal of the Crown for repaying the fidelity of its Roman Catholic subjects. In vain some Papists, who had purchased estates under the Act of Settlement and explanation, remonstrated against being deprived of their possessions. Their remonstrances were useless, they were told they must suffer for the general good; and I beg to submit this proceeding for the consideration of those gentlemen who think they can find a security against any attempt on the part of the Roman Catholics to recover the forfeited estates, in the argument that Roman Catholics themselves have become purchasers. The next act, in order to give a more fatal blow to the Protestants, and to make their extirpation more complete, was an Act of Attainder, by which all Protestants of all ranks and degrees, and of all sexes, were at-

tainted of high treason, on the pretence that they were out of the kingdom at the passing of the act. According to Archbishop King, two thousand six hundred were included in the proscription, and the manner of their condemnation was no less unjust than the motive ; for Sir R. Nagle, on presenting the act to the king for his assent, informed him, that many in the act were condemned upon such evidence as satisfied the House, the rest upon common fame.

“ But sweeping and comprehensive as these measures were for the extirpation of the Protestant religion, they were not enough to satisfy the Roman Catholics. The Parliament of 1689 proceeds in the spirit of the Catholic Association of 1824, to reform the temporalities of the Church : and we have the definition of Dr. Doyle’s reform carried into complete execution by the votes of the Roman Catholic legislature. In the first place, all the diocesan and parish schools which had been formed for the encouragement of the Protestant religion, were taken away from the Protestant schoolmasters, and their places were filled up by Roman Catholics. The king exercised his right of regulating the statutes of the university, by dispensing with the oath, and sending a mandamus to the fellows to elect whomsoever he should nominate ; he accordingly filled up several fellowships with Papists, and appointed a Popish priest as provost. An act passed this Parliament, whereby

all tithes payable by the Roman Catholics to the Protestant clergy were taken away and given to Popish priests ; and in order to make the recovery of them more easy, and to save the trouble and expense of suing under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the priest might bring his action at common law. The appropriate tithes belonging also to bishops and other dignitaries of the Church were wrested from them and given to the Papists, and the revenues of the vacant bishopricks were also expended in maintaining the Roman Catholic clergy.

“ But it was not enough to deprive the Protestant clergy of the means of maintenance, the jurisdiction of the Church was also destroyed by an act of the same Parliament, and all Dissenters were declared free from the punishments cognizable in the ecclesiastical courts ; but as the finishing stroke to the Protestant religion, and the most effectual specimen of the reform which Dr. Doyle has so much at heart, an act of this same Parliament deprived the Protestants of their churches, and the cathedral of Christ Church in Dublin, with twenty-six churches in that diocese, were immediately seized by the Roman Catholics ; orders were sent to the provinces for the same purposes, and no doubt every church in Ireland would have been in their possession if the career of this Roman Catholic Parliament had not been stopped by the battle of the Boyne.

“ Why do I mention these events ? It may be

said that the revival of these circumstances serves only to rip open old wounds, and to perpetuate the unfortunate causes of irritation which have so long agitated Ireland. I have no such intention; I wish they could, but they will not be forgotten; and when the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Plunkett) appeals to history, and in his forcible diction says, that it is nothing better than an old almanack unless we take warning from its illustrations and examples, I am forced, unwillingly forced, to draw my inference of Roman Catholic principles from Roman Catholic precedents, and to confess that I cannot view the Roman Catholic petition of 1824 as anything but the corollary of the acts of the Roman Catholic Parliament of 1689."

"But the Whigs will tell us that ulterior views are entertained only by a few who are either bigots in religion or enthusiasts in politics; and that the great and respectable body of the British and Irish Roman Catholics desire no more than what they ask, and when that shall have been granted will be contented and thankful. '*Permirus videatur, quemquam extare qui etiam nunc credat iis quorum prædicta quotidie videat re et eventis refelli!*' Cicero did not more justly say this of those who believed in the Chaldæan astrologers, than it may be applied to those who give credit to this class of politicians. There are, undoubtedly, among our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, many who

in their secret hearts lament that this dangerous question ever should have been moved; many who were contented with the toleration which they enjoyed, and would have been glad still to have lived in peace with all men, and in as much charity as is permitted by their creed. In these kingdoms time had done much toward abating the acrimony of religious differences. Our controversial warfare had ended; satisfied with victory, as well as thankful for the deliverance which by victory had been achieved—we had laid down our arms, willing, as far as possible, to let the points of difference pass out of mind, and look only to those in which we were agreed. This was the disposition of the Protestant church when the Romanists renewed the war; when Milner planted his batteries, and Lingard opened his mines, and the corps of sappers commenced their operations under Mr. Butler, and the Baddeleys and Andrewses cast their stinkpots over our walls. And now even the most moderate among them feel those latent principles of their religion in action, which, if they had not been thus disturbed, might have remained latent and consequently harmless through life. Once more with the British Roman Catholics, their religion is become their faction, and they have found allies among the men whose faction is their religion. They would not and could not be satisfied with what it is proposed to grant, even if the utmost that has yet been proposed

were to be granted. So surely—and as reasonably also—as they now argue that because so much has already been conceded, therefore more must be granted—so surely the next concessions would supply them with grounds for a further demand. The more they gain, the more strongly will it be considered a point of honour for them to pursue their advantage. If legislators, why not judges? If in the Parliament, why not in the cabinet? If qualified to enact laws for the people, wherefore not qualified for offering counsel to the king? One absurdity having been granted, the rest follow in proper consequence. There would remain but one step more, and that step would then have been rendered easy:—Why is the sovereign to be the only person in these kingdoms to whom liberty of conscience is refused? Why should the king, queen, heir or heiress, apparent or presumptive, of this empire, be the only persons in it who, after having examined into the reasons of their faith, may not vary its form, if they think good, and choose another for themselves, without incurring pains and penalties? Is it just—is it reasonable, that they should be under this restriction? Is it consistent with those imprescriptible rights of conscience, which above all other rights ought to be held sacred; or with the liberality of this enlightened nation?

“Suppose—(and, without referring to what Lord Plunket calls the old almanack,—who that

looks upon the ephemerides of the last year, will deem it an impossible supposition?)—suppose there should be a sovereign in these kingdoms, or a successor to them, who should be verily persuaded that the Holy Roman Catholic and apostolic Church, as it styles itself, is the true church, and the only one in which salvation is to be obtained. Against such a danger (for it is a possible danger) we have a security in our Protestant constitution; but if the legislature were no longer Protestant, who shall say that that security might not be annulled?—as some securities, which by our forefathers were deemed equally essential, have been; and as others must be before men whose bounden religious duty it is to subvert that constitution, can be admitted into parliament. What could be replied to their arguments for extending liberty of conscience to the royal family, but that the existing laws upon this point are expedient and necessary for the safety and welfare of these nations; and how can it be expected that we should stand upon that principle then, if we abandon it now? The throne, as well as the altar will be shaken, if we suffer ourselves to be driven from that ground by clamour, or seduced by that spurious liberality which makes those who are deluded by it, at once the tools and the jest of the true Papist. The Protestant succession was established, because it had been found, by experience, that it is inconsistent with the safety or welfare of this Protes-

tant kingdom to be governed by a Popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a Papist. But if the principle upon which that succession was established be retracted, the principle of legitimacy revives, and the Bill of Rights, which is the Magna Charta of our religious, and moral, and intellectual freedom, becomes as much an old almanack as history—as mere a bugbear as the Coronation Oath. The right of succession reverts to the house of Sardinia, that house, whose tender mercies the Vaudois experienced formerly, and whose generosity the descendants of the Vaudois are experiencing at this day.” *

IV.

Proceedings of the Catholic Association, and incendiary Speeches of its Members.

“ Let us look (says the Quarterly Review) at the state of Ireland; as it is represented to us, *in terrorem*, by the agitators and their partisans. Notwithstanding the *malus animus* of the painter, the picture is not overcharged in any of its features; and for this simple reason, that truth

* See the Speeches of the present Bishop of London, of Sir J. Nicholl, Mr. Dawson, and No. lxxvi. of the Quarterly Review.

serves the purpose, in this case, better than falsehood, and therefore, truth is told. They tell us that the Catholic Association has erected a complete *imperium in imperio*, or, rather, that it has taken the people entirely out of the hands of the government, the police, the local authorities, and the magistrates;—that in every village throughout the south of Ireland, and in Leinster also, there is a conservator of the peace, bearing the commission of Catholic churchwarden from this self-constituted government, and in constant communication with that body; that the whole country is actually organized, disciplined, and regimented, like a single company of soldiers, ready to obey the command of the Catholic Association, under officers, and for a cause to both of which they are devoted. ‘There never,’ says a newspaper partisan * ‘was organization so complete as that of the Irish Catholics at this moment; peaceful as we are persuaded is its primary object, (!!) its principles are all of a military cast. It is an array and discipline of almost countless numbers, under known officers, with gradations of ranks, commanded from one centre, and inspired by one soul. This, we say, however pacific in its immediate purpose, (!) is convertible, on the miscarriage of that purpose, to any and every service of actual hostility.’ ‘We are masters of the representation,’ says one of their incendiary orators. ‘This

* The Times.

is the pivot of the case. We have wrested their influence from the gentry, and the Protestant who draws rent from thousands of acres is almost as much destitute of power at an election, as the peasant without a rood.' 'The Association will continue to sway and to control the passions of the enormous and powerful population of this country, so long as government persevere in the miserable system of anomaly and misrule which has produced that great convention.' 'If that body,' says one of its newspaper advocates, 'decreed it, every county in Ireland would be in rebellion in the course of a week. But of this,' the same writer assures us, 'there is not the slightest apprehension. The leaders of that body feel the tremendous responsibility with which they are invested. They know that they are surrounded by vigilant and active enemies, and every thing they do is done openly. Mr. O'Connell can wield five or six millions of the Irish people at will: with Mr. O'Connell, however, the peace of the country is safe!'

"If proof of this latter part of the assertion be required, Mr. O'Connell and the Association are held up to us as the pacificators of their country! When they bring the people together, in whatever numbers, and on whatever occasion, they bring them in order, keep them sober, and obtain from them the most willing and entire obedience while they are assembled. They have them under perfect command, like dogs who are held

in the leash, till they who hold them shall cry havoc! and let slip. More than this—interfering, as the Popes were used to do, in former times, by their legates between contending potentates, they have succeeded in putting old enmities to rest, and making peace between inveterate factions. Effecting thus what the laws never could effectuate, and what the priests never before attempted, they have reconciled the Moll Doyles and the Padeen Gars, the Cummins and Darrigs, the Dungans and Hackets, the Carneys and the O’Flannigans; the Shanavests, so called because one of their leaders (like El Chaleco, in the Spanish war) was distinguished by his waistcoat, which was an old one, and the Caravats, so denominated because one of their chiefs was unfortunate enough, at last, to have the place of his cravat supplied by a hempen noose, the bight of which was so adjusted, by a certain legal practitioner, as to press under the left ear. At their entreaties, the Three Years’ Old and the Four Years’ Old have thrown down their shillelahs, and embraced like heroes of the Homeric age. Peace has been concluded between the Magpies and the Black Hens, the General of the Magpies presenting, in token thereof, a living Magpye to the Cock of the Black Hens, and the Cock of the sable poultry giving a black hen in return to his former rival. Under the same auspices, peace also was made between the Coffeys and the Rieskavalla Boys—made, alas! but

not concluded ; for, upon casting up the number of the slain, on both sides, the Rieskavalla Boys discovered that the Coffeys had a majority over them, having notched one death more ; and, therefore, they resolved that peace could not properly be concluded, till they should have killed one of the Coffeys, just to balance the account, and make things even. Such relations will be perused in England with a smile or with a sigh, according to the mood or disposition of the reader ; but in Ireland it is remembered, that ‘ previously to every insurrection, since the year 1798, whether political and general, like the rebellion of that year ; or local and Rockite, like those which occurred in the years 1812, 1813, 1819, and 1823, these quarrels seem to have ceased, as if by mutual and tacit consent ;’ and this is a consideration which may reasonably excite alarm. ‘ I well remember,’ says Mr. Gamble*, ‘ that on the eve of our rebellion those who knew the country best were never thoroughly alarmed until they remarked the entire change and conduct of the people, and saw them go home from fair and market as sober as they had come : they then said that the cloud which hung over us would soon come down in a storm.’

“ ‘ It is distinctly proved,’ said Mr. George Robert Dawson, (speaking in 1825,) ‘ that the Catholic Association has assumed a form inconsistent with the principles of the constitution ;

* *Sketches of Society in the North of Ireland*, p. 13.

that it usurps the functions of government; that it exasperates party hatred; that it interferes with the administration of justice; that it calumniates the character of every respectable man in the country; that it paralyses the magistracy; that it keeps the people, through the instrumentality of priests, in a state of servile vassalage, ready to obey their orders, however dangerous; and that it levies a tax upon the people, to be converted to their own mischievous purposes, no matter what they are.' Of what those purposes are, Mr. Dawson, in the same speech, produced indications sufficiently clear, and avowals, more or less explicit, afforded or made by the Association itself, its agents, and its ringleaders. The Association, when it apprehended from the government an exertion of vigour which was not made, exhorted the people 'to wait in the sullen silence of discontent for a more favourable opportunity and better-organized resources, to prove to Britain and the world that they were men, and deserved to be free.' 'Hereditary bondsmen,' said Mr. O'Connell to those who are, indeed, held in a worse than Egyptian bondage by their priests,

'Know you not,

Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow.'

'Scotland,' he tells them, 'did not exhibit the patience and self-control of Ireland, nor patiently suffer herself to be trampled on, while her

oppressors rode by in triumph. *She hewed down, with the sword of the Lord, the archbishops and bishops* ; and when the force of the British arms became too strong for her people, they retired to their mountains, and after renovating their vigour, they returned to carry desolation to the very dwelling of their assailants.' 'He would not,' he said, 'press the introduction of the claim of arming the Roman Catholics,—for, if he did, it might be supposed they were going to proclaim war *at once*.' One priest advises his parishioners to contribute largely to the Catholic rent, because money is the sinew of war, and because that rent will supply the Association with those sinews, whenever the proper occasion should present itself. And another priest informs the Association that 'many of his parishioners have sworn to appropriate the whole of the corn-crop to the payment of the rent, (observe, the Catholic—not the landlord's rent!) no matter what other creditors may be justly entitled to, or even the wants of nature may imperiously demand. Well, indeed, might Mr. Dawson say, that 'the Catholic Association is the most dangerous and most mischievous body which has ever been suffered to exist in Ireland.' Truly has he said, that 'its proceedings, and the speeches of its members, and the agency of the priests, unite in making it the most dangerous of all engines for working upon the passions of such a people as the Irish.' 'It commands a paid

press' (in England, we may add, as well as in Ireland) 'to circulate its poison through every part of the country; it has actors who stick at no falsehood to alienate the people from their confidence in every established institution of the country;' and the priests have amply fulfilled the expectations of the Association, by their undisguised expressions of hostility to the constitution, and by their unceasing efforts to instil the same hatred into an ignorant and infatuated peasantry; a peasantry too truly described, not only as the most ignorant and the most deluded in the world, but also as 'the most ready tools for any work of blood!' And wherefore are they so?—Not because the Roman Catholics are excluded, by the constitution of these kingdoms, from seats in Parliament, and from some forty offices, but because no other peasantry throughout Christendom is at this time so grievously and grindingly oppressed by the landholders; and because their aptitude for becoming the instruments of mischief and murder is, as it were, the original sin of the race; their unhappy inheritance; the national crime and the national curse. Let the reader turn to the authentic annals of Ireland—to the history of that ill-fated country, not merely before the restrictions which are now complained of, or the penal laws, were known, but before an English conqueror ever set foot upon its shores—let him look to the ages when, in the language of a villanous incendiary, 'sovereign Ireland enjoy-

ed her wholesome days of buxom independence,' and he will find, in every page of those annals, three words, wherein the ancient and modern history of Ireland, from the earliest to the latest times, is comprised; the words are—*occisio, combustio, devastatio*. 'Never,' says Peter Walsh—an Irishman himself, a Roman Catholic, and a Franciscan friar—'never has any other nation upon earth *anneared* the Milesian race (inhabiting Ireland) in the most unnatural, bloody, everlasting, destructive feuds that have been heard, or can well be imagined:—such feuds as not only had for necessary concomitants the greatest pride, most hellish ambition, and cruellest desire of revenge; but also had for no less necessary consequents the most horrible injustice, oppressions, extortions, rapine, desolations of the country, perfidiousnesses, treasons, rebellions, treacheries, murders; and all this from time to time, for six and twenty hundred years, only a very few lucid intervals of the frenzy excepted. Never have we read of any other people in the world so implacably, so furiously, so eternally set upon the destruction of one another.'

"To such a nation it is that the men who purchase for themselves brazen opinions, and those of whom brazen opinions are purchased, address their inflammatory harangues. The Irish are told that the present fearful state of their country has been produced by 'eagerness to obtain redress from an intolerable wrong, which, as it

affects millions, millions have combined to be relieved from.' They, and that part of the English public whom the agitators seek either to dupe or to confirm in their dupery, are told that 'it is not merely religion by itself, or civil liberty, that is at stake—but the contest is one for Catholicism, embittered by Hibernicism, and fermented by the growing leaven of democracy, against *Protestant* pride, *Protestant* power, *Protestant* avarice, *Protestant* insult, *Protestant* menace—at last, rendered desperate, it is armed against Protestant heresy.' Dr. Doyle has read somewhere *nihil profici patientia nisi ut graviora tanquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur*; and he tells his countrymen that he is reminded, by *the Tithe Composition Bill*, of the truth contained in this observation. An English newspaper says to them, 'Patience never did any good in this world, and never will. We must fight for all that is valuable; and as it is a condition of our existence that rest can only be enjoyed after labour, so in like manner we can have no good without a struggle. John Bull must be constantly poked in the ribs.' The Irish—the associated, organised, and disciplined Roman Catholic Irish—the sworn and banded Rockites and Ribbonmen, are told that 'the crime of being too passive under the weight of murder, spoliation, indignities, insults, and persecutions, which they have endured for centuries, is the chief accusation to be urged against them!'

The same incendiary* tells them that they are 'chased like foxes, hunted like deer, snared like hares, trapped like vermin, caged like birds, tied to stakes and baited like bulls!'—That, for all this usage, and for the concomitant curses of poverty, and famine, and disease, they are 'indebted solely to the external power, the foreign sovereignty, which plays the despot there, by means of its factious resident garrison of infuriated sectarists; who, clothed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously, riot *at their charges*, in every species of debauchery—living on the fat of the land—dwelling at their ease in magnificent mansions and comfortable cottages—whilst the Irish people, the *legitimate owners* of the soil, half naked, half starved, are doomed to linger

* "The author of Captain Rock's Letters to the King. There are few of our readers who can need to be informed that these Letters are certainly not written by Mr. Moore, to whom, while the publication was suspended, they were so positively ascribed. That gentleman has indeed laboured to inflame the vindictive passions of an ignorant and ferocious people most industriously; and he has exulted, merrily exulted in the display of their ferocity, with a recklessness which would be incredible, if we did not know that the spirit of party can sometimes sear the heart as much as it warps the understanding.

'Through Connaught, Ulster, Leinster, Munster,
Rock is the boy to make the fun stir!'

The *fun* which the Irish poet thus encourages in his countrymen, consists in maiming cattle, and leaving them to die in lingering agony; murdering individuals; surrounding houses at night, setting fire to them, and shooting or piking the inmates when they endeavour to escape from the flames!' (See No. lxxvi. of the *Quarterly Review*.)

out a wretched existence in filthy hovels, to which an Englishman would not run the hazard of committing his hogs.' The mind of the people is on fire, and the breath of these demagogues 'like a stream of brimstone doth kindle it.' Well might Mr. Dawson say that, in 'what is called figurative language, the exuberance and eloquence of a heated imagination, and so forth,' by those who seek to apologize for the incendiaries, with more or less participation in their desires and designs, 'the Roman Catholic peasant sees good practical matter, and would not be sorry to have it brought to the test of experience.' 'Every artifice,' says Dr. Phelan, 'has long been used to familiarize our fiery peasantry to the contemplation of the most ferocious deeds; insurrection is acted over weekly, almost daily, in the imagination of those multitudes who are swayed by the speeches of a few cool incendiaries.'

" 'But everything is done quietly and lawfully: the Catholic Association act as they have a right to do.'—Oh yes! We have an old illustration at hand, and an illustrious one it is, of this sort of quietness, and lawfulness, and right. Guy Faux and his associates had a right to hire a vault under the House of Lords; there was nothing but what was quiet and lawful in this. They had a right to purchase gunpowder, like any other freeborn Englishmen: they had a right also to deposit any part of their property in the

vault—as many barrels, for instance, as they pleased—and to cover the barrels with faggots; this also was lawful, and nothing could be done more quietly. Moreover, Guy Faux had an undoubted right to go into the aforesaid vault when he pleased, at any time or season, whether the king and the peers of the realm were or were not assembled in the chamber above; and he had a right also, an undoubted right, to carry a dark lantern with him. Thus far every step in the business was quietly taken; nothing had been done but what was lawful—nothing but what Guy and his associates had a right to do. It was in the ulterior measures—in their object, that the treason lay.

“ With Mr. O’Connell, however, says one of their most strenuous partisans, the peace of the country is safe. Yet we are told, and by the same authority, that when this same Mr. O’Connell desired his auditors to husband their pugnacious disposition for the Orangemen of the North, ‘ he was answered by a ferocious shout, mixed with a merriment that was terrifying.’ There is something in this which may remind us of the firemen of Constantinople, who are accused of sometimes discharging oil from their engines instead of water. At the very time when this reliance was expressed upon the peace-preserving powers and intentions of Mr. O’Connell, the following passage appeared in the report of his harangue at Clonmel:—

“ ‘ Am I not standing in the town where, in the year 1769, fifty-nine years ago, a priest of the Catholic church was tried by an Orange jury, found guilty on the swearing of a perjured informer, and hanged ignominiously for the murder of a man who lived for forty-four years after the death of Father Sheehy? (Hear, hear!) Tell it at home to your wives and children; and, believe me, no man ever did wrong who consulted with his good wife. (Hear, hear!) Are not your enemies of this day, the sons and grandsons of the murderers of the martyred Father Sheehy? And would they not, if they could, treat you as their Orange grandsires treated the Catholic priest?’ (Cheers.)*

“ If it be true, as too certainly it is, that Mr. O’Connell at this time wields at will some millions of the Irish people, can we indeed persuade ourselves, or suffer ourselves to be persuaded, that the peace of the country is safe in his hands, when we find him haranguing the multitude in this strain—a multitude, whom another agitator describes as being ‘ in martial array, and ready

* “ If the case had been as bad as it is represented, it would afford no justification, no excuse, no palliation for the demagogue who, after fifty-nine years, thus revived it, for the purpose of exasperating a ferocious multitude. But the fact is, that this Father Sheehy was mainly instrumental in exciting the Whiteboy disturbances; and having thoroughly deserved death, suffered it (like Probert) after a verdict upon which it is probable that he might not have been executed, had it not been for his previous and notorious character.”

to start up in insurrection if, in their maddened judgment, they should think there was a disastrous necessity for it?"

2

V.

That the Pope's spiritual authority is inseparably connected with temporal power; and that therefore the allegiance of a Roman Catholic is a divided allegiance.

Lord Clarendon has long since truly told us, "that it is vain to legislate concerning the Roman Catholic laity, unless you also bind their clergy; for they turn things civil into things spiritual at their pleasure: and holding in servitude the conscience, they do therefore govern also the actions of the laity.

"That the attributing any power to the Pope, or acknowledging any to be in him of how *spiritual* a nature soever it is thought to be, shall be enough to give law to the *temporal*, when a spiritual end shall so direct it."

It is easy to show that the distinction which is attempted to be drawn between the Papal supremacy in things spiritual and things temporal, is a distinction which exists only in theory. Before it can be admitted as practical, the religionists of

the Romish Church must provide themselves with two distinct sets of principles and feelings, the one relating purely and solely to the things of this world, and the other to things eternal.

"The Pope's supremacy," said the present Bishop of London, "is at least ecclesiastical, and an ecclesiastical supremacy necessarily involves some temporal jurisdiction. In point of fact does not the Pope appoint all the titular bishops of Ireland, with incomes of from five hundred to two thousand pounds a-year? And have not these bishops the nomination of all the parish priests, the minimum of whose total income is already 150,000*l.*? Is this no interference in temporals? Is it nothing that a foreign potentate, the mortal foe of your Church, should have in the very precincts of that Church, a well-disciplined army of 3,000 men, sworn to pay implicit obedience to his commands; whose generals he appoints, and, be it remembered, has appointed, if not the creatures and partizans, yet the nominees of a Popish pretender to the throne? It is said, indeed, that a titular bishop appointed by the Pope, at the recommendation of the Pretender, might have retained unimpaired his allegiance to the Protestant monarch on the throne. It is possible, no doubt. But what would have been his conduct, had the Pretender appeared at any time with an imposing force on the shores of Ireland; He would have been perplexed; but he would probably have

been relieved from his perplexity by the exercise of what is called the *Altum Dominium*; that *ratio ultima paparum*, the specific reserved for emergencies of conscience. He would have been released from his oath of allegiance, as the subjects of the Bourbons, by a bull of Pius VII., were released from theirs.

"I come now to the deposing power of the Pope, which Dr. Doyle tells us is obsolete; a well-chosen word; not abrogated; not annulled; not disavowed; but obsolete. Not to mention a long list of instances which occurred before the seventeenth century, I would remind you that Pope Urban VIII. pretended to depose Charles I. in Ireland in 1643; that Benedict XIII. issued a deposing bull against George II., in 1729, and that Pius VII. deposed Louis XVIII. and absolved all Frenchmen from their oaths of allegiance, when he crowned his dear son Napoleon. I acknowledge that these were empty displays of authority. But although they were empty displays as far as regards the actual power of the Pope, they were not without their effect upon the minds of faithful Roman Catholics, as we should have found to our cost, had circumstances favoured their operation. But Dr. Doyle says, this doctrine is obsolete; that is, out of use. Why, in 1805, Pope Pius VII. instructs his nuncio at Vienna, that the church had decreed, as a punishment of heresy, the confiscation of heretical property, but unfortunately she cannot

now exercise her right of deposing heretics from their principalities.

“ This, then, is the obsolete power of deposing princes—obsolete, as the strength of a tiger is obsolete, when his claws are pared and his limbs manacled. These offensive tenets are still embraced by the Romish Church: individuals there may be, and doubtless are, who either disavow them, or retain them in a qualified and mitigated sense; but they are still the doctrines of their church; and it is not competent to any one or more of its members to disclaim them, in the name and on the behalf of the church. Dr. Doyle knows, that he has no authority to do so; for he himself has told us, that the decisions of even Roman Catholic universities on such matters are not conclusive. Neither Dr. Doyle, nor any Roman Catholic university in Christendom, will dare to say, that a single canon of the Council of Trent is to be rejected or contemned; and I maintain, that a church, whose professions of faith and rule of discipline are to be found in the acts of that council, is unfit to be admitted to any considerable share of power or authority in a Protestant State.”

“ The real and only ground of the exclusion of the Roman Catholics (said the present Bishop of Durham in his speech in the House of Lords in 1825) is this;—that they are (what they do not choose to call themselves)—Papists.

“ What then, is the distinguishing feature of

the real Papist? It is, the acknowledgment of *the Pope's supremacy*; the acknowledgment, that, in certain respects, the Pope has an authority over the whole Christian world; and, consequently, that in whatever country, or under whatever government, the members of the Church of Rome are placed, they owe to him, as their supreme head, a special allegiance, and are bound, by an obligation paramount to all others, to render him homage and obedience.

“To what *extent* this authority takes place, is another question. There have been times when it was claimed and exercised, as extending both to spiritual and temporal concerns. The power, however, which the popes formerly asserted over temporal concerns, it may be said, has since died away, and ought not now to be taken into the account. It is true, indeed, that no direct assumption of this power has of late been attempted; and, hence, it is often alleged, that the pretended right is become obsolete, if not extinct. Nor am I unwilling to argue as if it were so. Only let me be allowed to observe, that, even to this day, it has never been formally repealed, never authoritatively disclaimed. So long as the decrees of the Council of Trent continue to be the standard of Papal pretensions, and that council recognises the authority of *anterior* councils, this asserted prerogative remains virtually in force. However dormant, it is not absolutely extinct; and were times and circum-

stances to permit its revival, the authority would still not be wanting to give it effect.

“ But setting aside this part of the pretensions of the Papal See, it will suffice for my present purpose to confine our attention to its alleged supremacy in *spiritual* matters. This is, perhaps, the most important part of the inquiry, attempts being continually made to represent this spiritual supremacy as not involving any temporal interests, and, consequently, not interfering in any degree with the legitimate powers of the State.

“ Of all fallacies none appears to me more palpable, more egregious, than that which regards spiritual authority as altogether unconnected with temporal. Theoretically, indeed, they are distinct; but practically, in most cases, it is hardly possible to disunite them. Like the soul and body, (I am using Bellarmine’s illustration, not my own;)—like the soul and body, though each have special qualities and special interests of its own, yet they act one upon the other by mutual co-operation, and affect each other by mutual influence. It may be easy to say, this is a spiritual right, and that a temporal right; this is an exercise of civil power, and that of ecclesiastical:—but when you come to apply these to individual cases, they will be found so blended together, as to render their separation always difficult, sometimes impracticable. And this is in reality the main foundation of that alliance between Church and State, which exists in almost

every well-constituted government, and which sustains the fabric of the British Constitution.

“ I contend, then, that if the spiritual authority be exercised, to its full extent, by a power distinct from that of the State, and assuming to itself a *supremacy* in that respect, it must, so far, become a direct infringement upon the temporal authority of the sovereign. But if it be said, that, even in this respect, the supremacy arrogated by the Pope over individuals of other states than his own, is become so mitigated, or so diminished, as no longer to give just cause of alarm or offence : then it will be necessary, in order to judge rightly of this, that we examine somewhat more particularly in what this spiritual supremacy actually consists.

“ Spiritual power, is two-fold; and the two parts of which it is composed have been clearly defined by one of the most distinguished ornaments of our Episcopal Bench, whom many of your lordships must have often heard in this House with admiration and delight;—I mean, Bishop Horsley. In a speech on the subject we are now discussing, that eminent prelate remarked the just and proper distinction between the ‘power of order’ and the ‘power of jurisdiction;’ both appertaining to spiritual authority, but ‘quite distinct, and of distinct origin.’ The power of *order*, is simply and purely spiritual, and can emanate from none but a spiritual authority. It is that power which confers the ca-

pability of exercising spiritual functions; or, in other words, qualifies a person to minister in sacred things. This power the sovereign, the temporal ruler of the state, being a layman, cannot possibly confer. He has it not himself, and therefore cannot communicate it to others. It originates in another and a higher source. And this is all that properly belongs to the power of order. The power of *jurisdiction* goes much farther than this. It extends to the entire *government* of the ecclesiastical body, to the appointment of particular persons to exercise spiritual functions throughout the State, to the rules and regulations by which they shall be directed, or to their respective remunerations according to the stations they hold in the ministry; in short, to every thing which, in ecclesiastical, no less than in civil polity, it is the duty of the legislative and executive government of the country to provide, for the general benefit of the community.

“Now it is manifest, that this latter power, though spiritual in its purpose and effect, cannot be exercised by any other authority than that of the State, much less by any *foreign* power, without a palpable interference with that authority; neither can it be carried into effect without a perceptible and powerful influence upon men’s temporal interests.

“It is, however, asserted, that the power claimed in modern times, by the See of Rome,

is nothing more than that which belongs to the church only, and which has been expressly disclaimed by the Sovereigns of this country as a part of their prerogative. Let us examine into the accuracy of this assertion.

“ The true line of distinction I apprehend, to be this :—spiritual *functions* belong exclusively to the *church* ; spiritual *jurisdiction* belongs to the *State*, as allied to the church, and although exercised by the church, is derived from the State. Nowhere, perhaps, has this distinction been more clearly or strongly marked than in the 37th article of our Church, and in Queen Elizabeth’s injunctions, which may be considered as decisive upon the point.

“ The Puritans, it is well known, took offence at the assertion of the Regal Supremacy in spiritual concerns ; misconceiving, as it appears, or misrepresenting, its real intent and meaning. To quiet such scruples, and at the same time to re-assert the doctrine in its full and proper sense, the 37th Article declares as follows :—‘ The Queen’s Majesty hath the *chief power* in this realm of England, and other her dominions, unto whom the *chief government* of all estates of this realm, whether they be *ecclesiastical* or *civil*, in all causes, doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, *subject to any foreign jurisdiction*.

“ ‘ Where we attribute to the Queen’s Majesty the *chief government* (by which titles we understand the minds of some *slandorous* folks to be

offended,) we give not to our princes the *ministering* either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments : the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen, do most plainly testify ; but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes, in Holy Scriptures, by God himself, i. e. that they should rule *all estates and degrees* committed to their charge by God, whether they be *ecclesiastical* or *temporal*, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers.

“ ‘The Bishop of Rome *hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.*’

“ Here, nothing is disclaimed, on the part of the sovereign, but that which, it is manifest, cannot appertain to any *temporal* power, the right of exercising *spiritual functions*. And what are those functions ? ‘The *ministering* either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments.’ The Sovereign though Supreme Head both of Church and State, cannot take upon himself to preach, to baptize, to administer the Eucharist, to order, to confirm, or to consecrate. These are offices purely and exclusively spiritual : and Queen Elizabeth rejects the very supposition of their belonging to the sovereign as a *slandorous* construction of her asserted claim to supremacy. But she still maintains and abates nothing of her title to supreme *jurisdiction* ; nor will allow any estates of the realm, whether ecclesiastical or

civil, to be subject to any *foreign* jurisdiction. Her authority is declared (as had been more fully set forth in her injunctions, twelve years before) to extend to ‘all manner of persons born within these realms, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be; so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any *superiority* over them.’ Thus do the injunctions and articles agree together; and from both is drawn the conclusion, that ‘The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England:’—no jurisdiction *of any kind*.

“I think it clearly follows from hence, that according to the fundamental principles of our Protestant Constitution, no subject can be considered as paying full and *undivided* allegiance to the sovereign, whose notions of the regal supremacy do not come up to this standard. If *spiritual* jurisdiction or authority, in whatever degree, be acknowledged as the right of some *other* potentate, that, whether it be more or less, is so much subtracted from the supreme authority claimed, and justly claimed, by the Head of the State; and the subject who is placed in such a predicament can pay only a *divided* allegiance to his rightful sovereign; an *allegiance*, which, however sincere and faithful as far as it extends, is avowedly imperfect in this respect; and, consequently, curtails his right to the same favour and privileges, the same degree of trust and

power, which others may enjoy who submit to the State without any such reservations or restrictions.

“ That the Roman Catholics actually stand in this predicament, cannot surely be denied. I have already adverted to Bellarmine’s opinion on this subject, and which he states to have been the commonly received opinion in his day : and your lordships will recollect that Bellarmine was not in the best odour with the See of Rome, his notions of the Papal prerogative not being sufficiently high to reach the views there entertained of the Pope’s Supremacy. His doctrine, (and he gives it as a *moderate* opinion between two extremes) is this :—‘ That the Pope, as Pope, has not directly and immediately any temporal, but only a spiritual power ; nevertheless, that *by reason of the spiritual, he has, at least indirectly, a certain power, and that supreme, in temporals* :’—‘ That the power of the Pope is indeed properly, in itself, and directly, *spiritual* ; but by it he can dispose of the temporal things of all Christians, *when that is required for the end of the spiritual power*, to which the ends of all temporal power, are subordinate ; for though he has no merely temporal power, yet he has, *in ordine ad bonum spirituale*, the highest power over temporals.’ Again ;—‘ The spiritual power does not mix itself in temporal concerns, but suffers all things to proceed, as before the union, so long as they do not oppose the spiritual end, or be

not necessary to obtain it. But if any thing of this sort occurs, *the spiritual can, and ought, to coerce the temporal*, by any way or means which shall seem necessary for its purpose.'—This exposition needs no comment.

“ But how stands this matter in the present day? Will the Roman Catholic subjects of these realms be content to acknowledge the King's Supremacy ‘*in all causes and over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil?*’ Will they allow that the Pope has no spiritual *jurisdiction* within these realms? Will the Pope himself relinquish his claim to *appoint* the clergy, and to *rule* them? Will he forego his superintendence over them in their respective diocesan or pastoral characters, or surrender such points as may interfere with the jurisprudence of this country? I hardly need say, that hitherto no symptom of a disposition to do this has appeared, either in the Pope himself, or in those who are bound in allegiance to him. Again, therefore, I must insist, that theirs can only be a *divided* allegiance; and that, therefore, they are disqualified for such an extension of privileges and favours, as may be fairly expected by their fellow-subjects who labour not under similar disqualifications.”

On the subject of this divided allegiance, Lord Liverpool thus expressed himself in his speech on the Catholic Question, in 1825 :—

“The noble lords opposite maintain, that it is fitting to grant the concessions demanded; be-

cause the Roman Catholics of this country and Ireland ought, and are entitled, to enjoy equal civil rights and immunities at all points with their Protestant brethren. Now this is the plain proposition of the advocates for emancipation; and I will deal plainly with it. I meet it with a decided negative. I say that the Roman Catholics are not entitled to equal rights in a Protestant country, and this opinion I will sustain. I admit—no man can dream of denying it—that all subjects in a free state are entitled to the enjoyment of equal rights upon equal conditions; but then the qualification of this principle in the case of the Roman Catholics is clear—the Roman Catholics who demand these equal rights do not afford equal conditions.

“The difference is this—it is stated in a moment—the Protestant gives an entire allegiance to his Sovereign, the Roman Catholic a divided one. The service of the former is complete, that of the latter only qualified; and unless it can be proved to me, that the man who works for half a day is entitled to as much wages as the man who works the whole day, or, in other words, that the half is equal to the whole, I cannot admit, that the Roman Catholic, whose allegiance is divided between a spiritual and a temporal master, is entitled to the enjoyment of the same civil rights and privileges as the Protestant, whose allegiance is undivided, and who acknowledges but one ruler.”

“ ‘ The Romish clergy, (says Blackstone in his Chapter of Treasons,) when they take orders, renounce their allegiance to their temporal sovereign, that being inconsistent with their engagement of canonical obedience to the Pope.’ By those engagements they are bound to oppose, to execrate, and, as far as in them lies, to extirpate every thing heretical, that is, every thing contrary to the religion of the Church of Rome.”

“ If (said the Bishop of Peterborough) a church is governed by a foreigner, who has neither dependence on, nor a common interest with, the king of the country, the *civil* allegiance of those who belong to that church cannot fail to be weakened by their *ecclesiastical* allegiance.

“ Yet notwithstanding this anomaly of government, notwithstanding this confusion of foreign with domestic allegiance, we are told there is no reason to apprehend that the one should interfere with the other. We are told that the provinces of spiritual and of temporal obedience are quite distinct; and, therefore, that obedience to the Pope in things *spiritual* can never detract from obedience to the king in things temporal. But where religion and politics are so blended, as in this country, it is often difficult to determine whether the subject of dispute shall be regarded as a *civil*, or regarded as a *religious* question. The very case which is now before us is a case in point. Some view it in a civil light, others in

a religious light. And if the question is civil in itself, it is still so connected with religion, that it cannot be duly appreciated without taking religion into the account. It is unavoidable, therefore, that doubts should arise; whether a subject of dispute shall be considered as a *spiritual*, or considered as a temporal concern. And to *whom* will the members of the Church of Rome apply in such cases for a solution of their doubts? Why, they will apply to the self-same spiritual power which is at issue with the temporal.

“ Under such circumstances allegiance to the Pope *must* interfere with allegiance to the king. And when it does interfere, when the soul is threatened on the one side, the body only on the other, men will yield to that authority of which they are the most afraid. The power which commands the conscience, will command the conduct of the man. And this power, which is a *foreign* power, the power of a foreign prince, is so easily directed by foreign intrigue to purposes subversive of our Constitution, that they who submit to such a power are hardly qualified to undertake the guidance of our Constitution.”

VI.

That many of the Duties of a Member of Parliament are incompatible with the Principles of a Roman Catholic.

SUPPOSING Catholic Emancipation, as it is called—supposing such a bill as that brought forward in 1821 by Mr. (now Lord) Plunket, carried; let us look to the consequences of such a measure, as they were detailed by the present Attorney General in his speech on that occasion.

“ It is not merely to the oath, but to the principle, to the political and general consequences of the bill, that I object. One political effect is, to admit Roman Catholic legislators, and to enable them to fill the highest departments of the State, with two exceptions; and this cannot be allowed without endangering the Protestant community. It is worth while to see how this object is carried into effect; how the Roman Catholic servants of the Crown are to execute the duties imposed upon them. It is admitted that they are not to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs; that they are not to advise the Crown as to any ecclesiastical appointments: so that this enabling, capacitating, authorizing bill, disables,

incapacitates, and unauthorizes Roman Catholics with regard to all spiritual concerns.

“ Suppose, for instance, that one of these much-injured and long-suffering noblemen was appointed secretary of State, or premier of an administration, he could not recommend a bishop, or fill up any ecclesiastical preferment within his gift or patronage. The French have a *Ministre de Culte*; but such an officer is unknown here; and the Roman Catholic peer can only be half a minister, with half the power and half the duties that will belong to a Protestant. Thus this bill, pretending to erect a building, only half completes it, and leaves it open, naked, and unserviceable. This great and gross defect, this singular absurdity, is not to be laid to the charge of the eloquent gentleman (Mr. Plunket) who introduced the bill: the necessity of the case compels the insertion of it.

“ True it is, that in such a case ecclesiastical preferments are to be regulated by a commission, and that commission is to be named by the Crown; but is it to be supposed that the premier will not have his influence in this respect, and after all accomplish what it is the intention of the bill to avoid? I will now direct the attention of the supporters of this measure to the privy councillor’s oath. By this oath the privy councillor is bound not to advise the monarch on this or that particular measure, but on every question connected with the well-being of the

State. What is the consequence? Why, if this measure were carried, we must alter not only the oath imposed by the statute of Queen Elizabeth, but the privy councillor's oath also.

“ But if the Roman Catholic interferes in ecclesiastical matters, what penalty is meant to attach to the infraction of the law? Is it a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.*, or of 3*s.* 4*d.*? I contend that the supporters of the bill, who consider those exclusions as contrary to the rights of the subject, and injurious to that fair and honourable ambition, which no man more ardently admires than I do, cannot give to the Roman Catholic an exalted situation in the State, without expunging the oath of Elizabeth, and entirely altering that administered to a privy councillor. With respect to the interference with ecclesiastical authority, this point can be illustrated in a very easy manner. Suppose a Roman Catholic holds the office of lord chamberlain, he could not even appoint a chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty: so that whatever ecclesiastical duty is attached to the office, the Roman Catholic liberators take care to transfer from him, and to impose the performance of that duty upon others.

“ Again, what will be the effect of the bill with respect to Roman Catholics sent out to govern any of our colonies? It will be described as a very hard thing that a man who has distinguished himself at Waterloo, should be prevented, on account of his religion, from going out as gover-

por of Jamaica, or of any other of our West India possessions. But if he were sent out under this bill, what must we do with him? Why, he must proceed to his destination in one frigate, and his ecclesiastical coadjutor in another. *The governor of a colony represents the sovereign. He has ecclesiastical power: in fact, he is the Head of the Church in that colony. Whatever power the king possesses in ecclesiastical matters, he representing the king, has a right to exercise.* ‘But,’ say gentlemen, ‘how unjust it is that a brave man who has lost a limb in your service, should be debarred from proceeding to the colonies—from enjoying a splendid retirement as the reward of his services?’ And how do those gentlemen propose to get over this injustice? Why, by placing the Roman Catholic in the possession of an office, the duties of which he cannot perform!

“But what is likely to occur at the Council Board? It is well known that various disputes, connected with ecclesiastical matters are referred to it for decision. The consequence must be, that, whenever a case of an ecclesiastical nature is called on at the Council Board, Mr. Buller, will be compelled to say to any Roman Catholic privy councillor present—‘You must leave the Board, or you will be guilty of an infraction of the law’—This is the mode in which gentlemen intend to conciliate the feelings of the Roman Catholic! Not a day would pass without the occurrence of

some circumstances far more grating to the feelings of the Roman Catholic than anything which can happen at present. It will be necessary, drawn up as this bill is, to have two individuals in every office of the State; one to perform the civil, the other to take care of the ecclesiastical duty.

"We are earnestly called upon to admit the Roman Catholics to political power. But, are we to admit them at the hazard of overturning all the old-established offices in the State? As the bill stands, they cannot be admitted to the old offices; new ones must be formed for them. Gentlemen who are in favour of their claims say, 'We wish the Roman Catholics to participate in existing offices,' but if they are placed in those offices, they cannot perform the duties attached to them."

"No admission can," said Lord Stowell, in 1813, "with any degree of safety to the interests I have described, be given to offices which are either judicial, with a jurisdiction extending to ecclesiastical questions, or to such as convey to the person who holds them a great portion of political power. For these are the two principles, within the range of which I conceive the danger, and the necessity of providing against it, to be bounded.

"The office of common law, for instance, is one from which a Roman Catholic ought to be excluded. And why? Because a person in that situation has to decide most important questions,

of rights, of advowsons, of presentations, of tithes, offerings, moduses, church-rates, and a thousand others; and I would ask that honourable gentleman, (Mr. Grattan,) whether if he had a son or a brother in the church, he would, with his experience of mankind, think that his son or brother, would confidently trust a Roman Catholic judge, sitting to decide many of such questions between the Protestant clergyman and the Roman Catholic parishioners: and whether there would not be that distrust and suspicion of an improper bias, which might disturb the fair course of justice, even if that suspicion and distrust were not in itself an evil, which it is the duty of prudent institutions entirely to remove, by removing their natural causes. So with respect to the office of privy councillor, who has to advise the sovereign in matters of religion, which are then matters of State, in some degree, though in a still higher degree, matters of conscience. All the same objections apply to the office of chancellor, in a much higher degree, and with the addition of his being the constitutional guardian of the royal conscience in affairs of this nature, as well as in those of a merely civil description."

"The source of the religious scruples which deprived James II. of his regal dignity, is expressed in one of the questions which he proposed to several divines of his persuasion. It comprises in a few words what every candid mind must perceive to be the *true and only* difficulty in the

admission of Roman Catholics to the Parliament of these kingdoms. What James doubted respecting the *regal sanction*, a member of either House may apply to the more limited influence of his vote. He asked 'Whether the King could promise to give his assent to all the laws which might be proposed for the greater security of the Church of England?' Four English divines who attended James in his exile, answered without hesitation in the negative. The casuistry of the French court was certainly less abrupt. Louis XIV. observed to James, that 'as the exercise of the Catholic religion could not be re-established in England, save by removing from the people the impression that the king was resolved to make it triumph, he must dissuade him from saying or doing any thing which might authorize or augment this fear.' The powerful talents of Bossuet were engaged to support the political views of the French monarch. His answer is a striking specimen of casuistic subtlety. He begins by establishing a distinction between adhering to the erroneous principles professed by a church, and the protection given to it 'ostensibly, to preserve public tranquillity.' He calls the edict of Nantes, by which the Huguenots were for a time tolerated, 'a kind of protection to the reformed, shielding them from the insults of those who would trouble them in the exercise of their religion.' 'It never was thought,' adds Bossuet, 'that the con-

science of the monarch was interested in these concessions, except so far as they were judged necessary for public tranquillity. The same may be said of the King of England; and if he grant greater advantages to his Protestant subjects, it is because the state in which they are in his kingdoms, and the object of public repose require it.' Speaking of the Articles, the Liturgy, and the Homilies, he says, 'it is not asked that the king should become the promoter of these three things, but only that he *shall ostensibly* leave them a free course, for the peace of his subjects.' 'The Catholics,' he continues, 'ought to consider the state in which they are, and the small portion they form of the population of England; which obliges them not to ask what is impossible of their king, but on the contrary, to sacrifice all the advantages with which they might idly flatter themselves, to the real and solid good of having a king of their religion, and securing his family on the throne, though Catholic; *which may lead them naturally to expect in time, the entire establishment of their church and faith.*'

"Such is the utmost stretch which can be given to the Roman Catholic principles in the toleration of a Church which dissents from the Roman faith. A conscientious Roman Catholic may, for the sake of public peace, and in the hope of finally serving the cause of his church, *ostensibly give a free course* to heresy. But, if it may be done without such dangers, it is his

unquestionable duty to undermine a system of which the direct tendency is, in his opinion, the *spiritual and final* ruin of men. A Roman Catholic cannot, without guilt, lend his support to a Protestant establishment, but is bound, as he wishes to save his soul, to miss no opportunity of checking the progress of heresy: the most grievous of all moral offences according to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church. Murder itself is less sinful, in the judgment of the Roman See, than a deliberate separation from her communion and creed. If any one still doubts the place which heresy holds in the Roman Catholic scale of criminal guilt, let him explain away, if he can, the following passage of the papal bull, which is every year published in the Spanish dominions, under the title of The Crusade. By that bull every person who pays a small sum towards an imaginary war against infidels, is privileged to be released from all ecclesiastical censures, and receive absolution at the hands of any priest, of *all*, whatever sins, he may have committed, ‘even of those censures and sins which are reserved to the Apostolic See, *the crime of heresy excepted.*’ Is it then to cherish, foment, and defend this heinous crime—the crime which the Pope excludes from the easy and plenary remission granted to the long list of abominations left for the ear of a common priest—is it *this crime*, as established, honoured, and endowed by the law of England, that Catholics

are anxious to sanction with their votes in Parliament?"*

"Remember," said Lord Stowell, then Sir William Scott, in his speech in the House of Commons, March 2, 1813, "remember the memorable declaration of the Earl of Bristol, in the House of Lords, upon the passing of the Test Act: 'Upon the whole matter, my lords, however the sentiments of a Catholic of the Church of Rome, may oblige me, upon scruple of conscience, in some particulars of this bill, to give my negative to it, when it comes to a passing; yet as a member of a Protestant Parliament, my advice cannot but go along with the main scope of it.' Here is the natural working of the religious conscience of the Roman Catholic against the prudential and political conscience. The measure proclaimed to be right and fit, but the vote directed against it, because it tended to the safety of the Protestant establishments of the country; which, as a disciple of the church of Rome, he was bound religiously to discountenance."

* See Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism by Rev. B. White.

VII.

That the admission of Roman Catholics to Parliament could not but be attended with great danger. Example from Polish History.

“It is often asked by those who advocate the claims of the Catholics, ‘What danger can be apprehended from a few Roman Catholic members?’ The number likely to be returned is described as exceedingly limited—*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*.” “I have had experience enough (said Mr. Peel) to know, that, under some circumstances, a very small party may, by dexterous management, possess itself of great influence over the House. I certainly believe that Roman Catholics, in the event of these disabilities being removed, would be found, some of them, ranged on the side of Government, and some on that of opposition. I make no doubt that they would exercise, to a great extent, that freedom and diversity of political opinion, which my right honourable friend anticipates.

“But where the Roman Catholic religion might happen to be concerned, I believe that as the East Indians unite, and as the West Indians unite—however opposed they may be at other times, and on other matters, to get a duty im-

posed, or a duty repealed, on sugar for example, —so the Roman Catholics would unite, on the very same principle, of community of interest or feeling, upon a question affecting their own faith. By this adroitness in trimming the balance between rival parties, and, by uniting themselves in exciting the religious apprehensions and feelings of their brethren in that faith, I do apprehend, that the Roman Catholics might exercise a very considerable power in this House over their own community; and to a great degree, although compared with the Protestant body, their number should be comparatively trifling, might succeed in the attainment of their ultimate objects, however extensive these might be.

“ Now, I conceive it evident, that it was this belief and impression which induced the legislature to interpose against the exertions of such influence, those guards which were created at the time of the Revolution. I am firmly persuaded that, at that time, King William and the great men who advised him did make a clear distinction between the penal laws to which the Roman Catholics were then subject, and the laws which it was necessary to enact in order to resist the species of influence to which I have just adverted, and of which they were much more apprehensive than of the attachment of the Roman Catholics to the house of Stuart. They evidently thought that they ought not to admit the Roman Catholics into the enjoyment of those offices,

where the exertion of that influence might be rendered most effective, and its influence could be most extensively felt. Accordingly, in the letter King William wrote in 1697, he said, ‘I will give you every privilege I can, consistently with the free exercise of your religion, and every other privilege but that of admission to certain State offices and into Parliament; but I cannot consent to admit you into Parliament, or to those offices which constitute the Executive Government, because I do believe, although I respect you, that you must exercise, as members of that Government, an influence to promote the views of the Roman Catholic body.’ So that King William and his counsellors, when it was determined that the crown should be Protestant, did not believe that the Crown would be safely secured in that succession, unless offices in the Executive, State, and seats in Parliament were denied to those who professed the Roman Catholic faith.”

“It has been often said,” observed Sir J. Copley, “that supposing sixty or seventy members of the Roman Catholic profession were returned to serve in Parliament, what possible injury could arise from such a circumstance—what means could they possibly devise for overturning the Protestant Establishment of this country? And those who ask such questions always answer them in the negative. But I am not satisfied on this point.

“Now I will entreat the House to recollect—and it is with sincere regret I do so—that there are at the present moment, and have always been, many Protestant members of the House of Commons, who entertain views, and profess sentiments hostile to the Established Church of these realms. If, in addition to the lukewarm friends, and avowed opponents, we throw into the scale another weight—if we add to this body another mass—knowing as we do, that both will act with the same spirit, and make one common cause, shall we, I ask, be discharging our duty to the Church, of which we are members, and which we have pledged ourselves and are bound to support? I heard it remarked on a former occasion, by the honourable member for Corfe Castle (Mr. Bankes)—and the remark seemed to me well deserving the serious attention of the House—that if even we should be able in the end to oppose an effectual resistance to the hostile feelings or attempts of these parties, we should ask ourselves, whether it was nothing for us thus to expose the Church to their repeated and continual attacks?”

“It is urged,” said Lord Colchester, “that the danger which we object to the present measure, must have reference to the numbers of those whose pretensions, if admitted, are to create the danger. This is undoubtedly true. But we must be careful, not to lay what ought to be the durable foundations of our legislation upon shift-

ing grounds. In legislation, as in every other prudential and practical question, we should consider to-morrow as to-day. And it is amazing to me, that any persons of ordinary sagacity can fail to foresee, that the paucity of present numbers affords no security against their future increase.

“Any powerful minister of the Crown who advocates measures like the present, with a strong sense of the injustice which (according to his view) the existing families who constitute the Roman Catholic gentry have long suffered, may, and ought, upon his own principles, to make them speedy and full compensation for their long-intercepted honours. In the reign of Queen Anne, we have a precedent for a simultaneous addition to our peerage of no inconsiderable amount; and in proportion as the grievance is considered to have been long, heavy, and unjustifiable, such in proportion would naturally be the reparation. We might well look to have in our House a much larger importation than took place at that period; and successive ministers under the occasional difficulties which beset them, when the gates were set open, and the broad path paved, might, and would enlarge the number without stint or limit.

“By irresistible inference what might be called equal justice should be done also with respect to the other House of Parliament. The Roman Catholic elector must be allowed to elect Roman

Catholic representatives for his country, whether in England or Ireland, and I leave it to your lordships' meditation, how soon, and by what courses, political ambition, coupled with or goaded by religious zeal, duly directed, might gradually appropriate to itself, by the wealth of ancient and opulent families, much also of that description of property, which locally influences the return of other members to the Commons' House of Parliament."

"We already know," says Lord Bexley, "that in the elections of Ireland the priests have begun to exercise a tremendous power. They have already in two counties defied the influence of property, and returned members avowedly as their mere creatures, and we are threatened that they will do the same in all the counties of Ireland. That they have the power of doing so if their influence over the forty-shilling freeholders is every where equally great, appears from a document printed by the House of Commons in 1825. In this paper the freeholders who had been registered in Ireland for some years before, were divided into three classes—of fifty pounds a-year—twenty pounds a-year—and forty-shillings. Of this last class the number returned was one hundred and seventy-seven thousand, while the aggregate of the two remaining classes amounted to no more than twenty-five thousand. Those who have contended for the admission of Roman Catholics to Parliament

have always represented the number likely to be returned as too inconsiderable to be of any importance; but how grossly they have deceived themselves, this document, combined with recent events, too plainly shows."

"On what foundation," asks Lord Oriell, "does the Protestant Church stand? Is it not on your laws? Do not its rites, its worship, its possessions, its hierarchy, its pre-eminence, all depend upon the laws of the realm? And are you ready to fill your legislative assemblies with Roman Catholics, with persons attached and bound to another church? Do you forget the necessary alliance between Church and State, that if you endanger the one you destroy the foundation of the other? And can you be so infatuated as to entertain for a moment the idea of calling on Roman Catholic members to make the laws on which both Church and State depend; and on Roman Catholic counsellors to execute them? I will give the Roman Catholics every merit which men can claim, and still the feelings which are incident to human nature must debar them from being able to make such laws as those who profess the Established religion of this country are bound to do."

"I know it has been said, that the progress of education and the march of civilization have wrought wonders among the Roman Catholics; and, looking to the present aspect of the times, it may, perhaps, appear to superficial observers,

that little danger is to be apprehended. But I will remind you that the horizon is often the clearest and most serene when the tempest is nearest. And here I will appeal to history, and ask you at what period did the Established Church appear to be in a more flourishing condition, than at the restoration of Charles II.? And yet in twenty years afterwards it was, that the greatest revolution took place in the condition of this Church; and it was next to a miracle that, by the machinations of a Popish prince, it was not overwhelmed in one common ruin with the State and Constitution of this country."

Such was the remark of Lord Liverpool; and it was observed by another great authority, Lord Eldon, that "He must have been a very inattentive observer of what passes in Parliament, who has not remarked that a small band or knot of individuals, acting together upon system—constantly acting together and watching for opportunities and movements favourable to their views and projects, may achieve great and important changes."

"Satisfy Parliament that the boon can be granted with perfect safety to the Constitution in Church and State, and it will be granted nearly with unanimity, almost by acclamation.

"The nation will not be satisfied that their constitutional liberties should be risked upon speculative opinions and abstract refinements. The stake is too important to be ventured on a

mere calculation of chances. Let the concessions proposed be stated with precision—the barriers and arrangements, which are to accompany them, be accurately set forth, and carefully examined, so as to assure us of perfect security. If that course is not pursued, where are we to stop? where can we make our stand with safety but at the point at which we are already arrived? Without a change in the condition of the Roman Catholics, and without ample securities, should the Protestant circle round the throne be drawn still closer, we may, as that circle is diminishing, be carried on, even with accelerated velocity, towards a vortex, which would engulph in its abyss, the Protestant throne, the religious establishments, and the civil liberties of the nation.”

The following portion of Polish history deserves the perusal of every individual anxious for the stability of our Protestant Constitution, and the happiness of our Protestant kingdom. “By a law passed at the diet of Grodno, in 1568, the honours and dignities of the senate, and all the high offices and considerable trusts of the state, and even the crown itself, were laid entirely open to every one, ‘*of whatever Christian communion or confession soever he be.*’ This law conceding an equality of rights to the several religions of the Greek, the Roman, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic churches, was solemnly confirmed, and made a part of the fundamental compact of an union between Poland and the

Great Duchy of Lithuania, which was accomplished by Sigismund Augustus. These several religions then may be considered as having started fair in the career of emulation. *The Roman Catholics at this time did not bear a proportion in number to the Greeks of more than one to seven.* After the death of Sigismund, and the new-modelling of the state into a republic with an elective crown, the first king on whom the choice of the diet fell, was a Protestant. A perpetual peace was at the same time established between the Greeks, Romanists, and Protestants, as the fundamental law of the republic. This amicable and reciprocal toleration lasted for a short period. But by little and little the Roman Catholics increased in power, till under Sigismund III. they obtained an evident superiority. That prince had been educated by Jesuits, and during his long reign, which lasted for near half a century, all the material interests of the nation were entirely neglected, and intolerance and persecution took the place of those equal and conciliatory laws, to which his predecessor Sigismund Augustus owed his prosperity and his greatness. The churches of the Dissidents were gradually demolished, bishops abandoned their flocks; the priests and people were compelled to follow them. Every gentleman who embraced the Roman Catholic faith, immediately destroyed all the churches of the

Dissidents upon his estates. The tradesmen and mechanics dispersed, and the peasants were converted without difficulty. If the priests or any of the vassals were first converted, they were supported against the lord, who was compelled at length by a variety of chicanery and vexations, either to become a convert or to dispose of his estate. In this manner the Dissidents lost, during the reign of Sigismund, upwards of one hundred churches, and the Roman Catholics increased so fast, that from five only who were members of the senate at the beginning of the reign of Sigismund III., *they amounted at his death to three parts of the whole assembly.* During the succeeding reign the Dissidents *being much oppressed* decreased rapidly in their numbers; and *means were at length found to keep them entirely out of the senate.* Besides the laws previously mentioned, *the treaty of Olivia*, in the second article stipulates:—‘That all the subjects of the kingdom of Poland, of what condition or religion soever, were to enjoy for the future, all the rights and privileges, as well temporal as spiritual, which they had enjoyed before the war.’ Yet this treaty was shamefully and disgracefully violated!!!”

VIII.

That the warmest advocates of the Catholic Claims once thought securities necessary to guard against danger to the Protestant Religion.

“We have been told,” said Sir J. Copley, (now Lord Chancellor,) “and certainly with some plausibility and appearance of truth, of the great constellation of men of genius, talents, experience, and statesmen-like minds by which the cause of the Roman Catholics has been supported. I confess, that when I contemplate all the circumstances which have attended that support, I do not feel oppressed by the authorities to which allusion has been made. On the contrary, I trust I shall be able to satisfy the House—I am sure I have satisfied myself—that the great and distinguished authorities which have been cited, are every one of them on my side. I also remember that, in terms too clear and explicit to admit of mistake, Mr. Pitt added, that he could concede their claims to the Roman Catholics only on what he should be satisfactorily and firmly convinced were sufficient and adequate securities—securities that should place beyond risk the Protestant religion and establishment—

security against domestic efforts directed to its subversion—security against any species of foreign influence—security against the effects of the united and combined spirit by which it was known that Roman Catholics were actuated.

“Mr. Pitt also said: ‘I do not mean wilfully to shut my eyes to this conviction, that a Roman Catholic, however honourable his intentions may be, must feel anxious to advance the interests of his religion—it is in the very nature of man; he may disclaim and renounce this wish for a time, but there is no man, who is at all acquainted with the operations of the human heart, who does not know that the Roman Catholic must feel that anxiety whenever the power and the opportunity may be favourable to him.’

“‘As to any thing, (said he) which I and my colleagues meditated to bring forward, I disclaim the very words in common use; the emancipation of the Catholics, or Catholic emancipation. I have never understood that subject so; I never understood the situation of the Catholics to be such; I do not now understand the situation of the Catholics to be such as that any relief from it could be correctly so described: but I think the few remaining benefits of which they have not yet participated, might have been added safely to the many benefits which have been so bounteously conferred on them in the present reign. I am of opinion that the very measure I allude to, as a claim of right, cannot be maintained; and it

is on the ground of liberality alone, and political expedience, (and in that sense, wisdom, as connected with other measures,) that I should have thought it desirable, adviseable and important: but I would not have it founded on a naked proposition, to repeal any one thing which former policy had deemed expedient for the safety of the church and state. No, Sir, it was a comprehensive and an extensive system which I intended to propose, to relinquish things certainly intended once as a security, which I thought in some respects ineffectual, (and which were liable to additional objections from the very circumstance of the object of the Union having been accomplished) *and getting other security for the same objects, to have a more consistent and rational security both in church and state, according to the principle, but varying the mode, which the wisdom of our ancestors had adopted to prevent danger.* The measure I intended to propose, I think, would give *more safety* to the church and state.'

" This was the language held by Mr. Pitt; and I find that great statesman's opinion confirmed by the authority of my Lord Grenville. That noble lord declared, that he must have adequate security for the Protestant religion against foreign influence. What was the security which was present to the mind of Lord Grenville, and without which he would not accede to the Roman Catholic claims? The Veto; the investing of the

crown with a veto on the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops.

“ A short passage or two from the celebrated Letter of a noble lord (Grenville) entitled to high respect, will serve to prove the assertion.— ‘ With the just and salutary extension of civil rights to your body must be combined, if tranquillity and union be our object, other extensive and complicated arrangements; all due provision must be made for the inviolable maintenance of the religious and civil establishments of the United Kingdom: such at least have always been my own declared opinions.’ — ‘ Among these measures I pointed out the proposal of vesting in the Crown an effectual negative on the appointment of your bishops. That suggestion had previously been brought forward in the House of Commons to meet the just expectations, not of any bigoted or interested champions of intolerance, but of men of the purest intentions and most enlightened judgment—men willing to do all justice to the loyalty of your present bishops, but not unreasonably alarmed at any possibility by which functions of such extensive influence might hereafter be connected with a foreign interest hostile to the tranquillity of your country.’ The necessity, then of securities, in some form or other, against foreign influence; of complicated arrangements for domestic tranquillity; of provisions for the inviolable maintenance of the civil and religious establishments of the Uni-

ted Kingdom, is here distinctly stated, not by a 'bigoted champion of intolerance,' but by the great leader of the Roman Catholic advocates. The same admission has been repeatedly made by other eminent supporters of the Roman Catholic cause.

"There is another name, that has been frequently alluded to, an individual of unimpeached political integrity, of great enthusiasm, of distinguished eloquence; I mean the late Mr. Grattan. I have a paper lying before me, to which I would particularly refer, were it not that I do not wish to trespass upon the patience of the House, in which Mr. Grattan declares, that when the Roman Catholics ask for political power, the Protestants have a right to demand securities, and unless adequate security be given, the Roman Catholics can set up no just title to political immunities. So much for the opinion of Mr. Grattan.

"The authority of a noble lord, now no more—I mean the Marquess of Londonderry—has been frequently referred to as hostile to the views of those who have felt it their duty to make a stand against concession.

"But what was the language which he uniformly held? 'We must have security—not the security of oaths alone—we must have real power, real substantial security, against foreign influence, and the peculiar tenets of the Roman Ca-

tholic faith.' Mr. Canning, repeatedly, I may say over and over again, declared in this House, that he could never think of making such concessions to the Roman Catholics as would invest them with political power and authority, unless he felt fortified the security against foreign influence was most ample and satisfactory.

"From this great authority, I pass to my right honourable friend, who on a recent occasion, so splendidly distinguished himself—I mean the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Plunket.) At what period of his political life did he ever sanction concessions to the Roman Catholics, upon any other terms than those contended for by the other great names to which I have referred? Has he not uniformly called out for security? Has he ever ceased to maintain that the Protestant religion and establishment should be protected? Who, then, will question that these authorities are of the greatest weight, and that the individuals now existing, who have expressed the opinions that I have quoted, are for ever disabled from dispensing with securities, without contradicting their pledges? They are unavoidably bound, if they be consistent, to take the same view of the subject that I have felt it my duty to present to the House, and to resist to the utmost every claim of the Roman Catholics, except upon the principle of security.

"Whether any such barriers and arrange-

ments can be devised as shall afford sufficient security, cannot at present be examined ; because none are now proposed—nor hitherto have any that appear satisfactory been anywhere stated. The negative to be vested in the Crown on the appointment of bishops, has since been rejected and disavowed by the Roman Catholics, notwithstanding ‘ the acquiescence of their church in a similar arrangement under other governments, and the express consent formally given by the most considerable of their own bishops.’ The demand now seems to be made on their part, of unconditional concession, without any guard or security whatever ; and, what is still more strange, these supporters of the Roman Catholics, from some unaccountable change in their opinions, appear ready to go that length in their concessions!!! And what is it that is now demanded ? That which does not exist in any country, Roman Catholic or Protestant ; namely, that the government of the Church shall be wholly independent of the State, while the members of that church thus denying the authority of the State shall yet fully partake in the exercise of all its political powers.”

“ The Jesuits are again established, not only abroad, but also at home ; not merely in France and Spain, but also in England and Ireland. The Roman Catholic religion is again dealing its miracles and indulgences ; and displaying a spirit of intolerance and persecution, which can

only be equalled by that which it displayed in the seventeenth century. Now, when such is admitted to be the fact, I cannot see the consistency of the logic which called upon the House to make concessions which were questionable when there was no danger, under circumstances which the very advocates of emancipation admit to be full of danger."

"There is a sort of stubborn and stupid consistency (says the Quarterly Reviewer) by which men seem sometimes to be possessed, as by an evil spirit; no proof can then evict them of the persuasion which they have once taken up; the more light is thrown upon it, the less (like the owl in the emblem) are they able to see and to discern. The sectaries who desire the overthrow of the church—and they who consider all religions with equal indifference, and are willing, therefore, to tolerate all, provided they pay for none,—and they who hate Christianity, and would eagerly, if it were possible, destroy it root and branch, because their hearts rebel against the restrictions which it imposes and the duties which it enjoins; such persons have an intelligible motive for their conduct in leaguings with the Roman Catholics, and aiding them in their endeavours to open a practicable breach in the constitution. But it is not so obviously intelligible wherefore sincere Protestants, who love the religion which they profess, hold it by choice as well as by inheritance, adhere to it in heart as well as with their lips, understand its inestimable worth,

and—if a dreadful necessity were to arrive—would lay down their lives in its defence—it is not so intelligible why such Protestants (and such there are among the Emancipationists) should persist in this league, when the ulterior designs of the party, by whose professions they were first allured to engage in it, are no longer dissembled, and can no longer be concealed. A better explanation, however, may be found than in the stubbornness into which even well-meaning men sometimes suffer their consistency to degenerate. They continue to act with the Roman Catholics, not because they retain their first opinions, but because they have changed them. They believed at first that securities were necessary, and spake and acted upon that belief in full sincerity. Having learned, from the experience of twenty years, that no securities can be obtained, rather than acknowledge their error, as in honourable rectitude they ought to have done, (and must have done, if they had kept on in the straightforward path of an upright understanding,) they have persuaded themselves that no securities are needed; and of this they would now persuade the nation.”

IX.

That certain Securities were actually proposed, to which the Catholics twice assented, and twice retracted their assent; though Securities are now more necessary than ever.

“ May I now (continued Sir J. Copley) be permitted to refer to the history of the securities, or rather to the vain and delusive offers of security with which the confidence of Roman Catholic advocates has from time to time been abused; and let us see whether they were really sincere when they declared their readiness to give security. Let us, from the year 1808, down to the present time, fairly, impartially, and candidly consider the subject of securities; and if we can lay our hands upon our hearts, and say that we truly believe they have evinced any sincere disposition to meet the Protestants, and to give that security, without which political power can never be safely conferred on Roman Catholics?

“ What are the facts? In the year 1808 a proposition respecting securities was offered by the Roman Catholics. Mr. Grattan came down to this House, and stated that, in consequence of communications which he had with some of

the heads of the Roman Catholic religion, he was prepared to offer, on their behalf, such securities as would take from the concession of their demands all the danger that the most timid could apprehend. A measure founded on that principle of security was introduced; but a very short time had elapsed before Mr. Grattan was compelled to declare, in his place in Parliament, that the authority with which the Roman Catholic prelates had invested him to speak their sentiments on their behalf, had been withdrawn. ‘When last I had the honour of addressing the House,’ said Mr. Grattan, with that warmth of feeling which was peculiar to him,—‘when last I had the honour of addressing the House in behalf of the Catholic claims, I then stated that the Catholics were willing to concede to his Majesty the right of veto on the Catholic nomination of their bishops. I am sorry to say, that I cannot now affirm that such are the sentiments of the Roman Catholics of Ireland upon that subject. Whether I have misinformed the House, or the Catholics have been guilty of retraction, is a question which I shall never agitate, it being my fixed principle never to defend myself at the expense of my country.’

“Having detailed the particulars of their first retraction, I shall now bring under the consideration of the House the next circumstance in which the expectations of their friends were disappointed. In the year 1813, Mr. Grattan, in

conjunction with my right honourable friend, (Mr. Canning,) brought in another bill, founded on principles of security, connected with the appointment of the Roman Catholic bishops, giving the same veto to the Crown, and the same control to the government, in that appointment. It was declared by them that this was the only security they had to offer; that they considered it ample and sufficient; and that it was only in consideration of that security they would recommend the adoption of the measure. Through every stage of that bill did the Roman Catholic bishops permit Mr. Grattan to speak in their name and their behalf. But before the bill had gone through its respective stages, when the measure was on the point of completion, what was the event? The Roman Catholic bishops held a meeting, in which they condemned the proposed concessions; when they retracted, alleging that the veto would place them in a worse instead of a better position; and would revive all the evils of the Penal Laws in their most intolerable shape. In consequence of their refusal to adhere to the pledge which they had thus a second time given, the measure was lost in this House, and the Roman Catholics of Ireland were left in the same state as before. Having stated so much of the history of securities, I will, passing over the intermediate period, come down at once from the year 1813 to 1825, in order to show that the Roman Catholics of the present day have not

only no greater disposition than their predecessors to give the securities which are required of them, but when I think it will be most evident that they then evinced a determination to give no security whatever.

“ Let us not be charged with bigotry and intolerance when we say, that we are willing to admit the Roman Catholics to political power, if we have sufficient security that we can do so without danger to the State or detriment to the Constitution; for such is the language that has been held by all the illustrious men who have discussed the subject. If I can satisfy the House that there is no disposition or inclination on the part of the Roman Catholics to concede any securities, what right have they to complain of us for refusing to concede their claims? The pledges which they have repeatedly given, they have as repeatedly forfeited. And, I will ask, are we not bound to act with extreme caution when we find them slipping out, one after another, from the pledges they had given, in the expectation, probably, that when the legislature and the government are no longer able to resist them, all will be granted without qualifications, and their claims acceded to on their own terms?

“ The discussion of 1825 must be fresh in the recollection of all who hear me. It is now known that the securities then talked of were perfectly delusive. New securities were at different times proposed, and alterations made in them, as must

be known to every gentleman having any thing like a competent acquaintance with the subject. Why, without adverting further to the alterations and omissions made in these proposed securities, I will take the liberty to allude to one which never could have been the result of accident or inadvertence. I mean that most remarkable difference which occurs in the wording of the oath proposed in the bill of 1825, to be in future administered to Roman Catholics,—that most remarkable omission, as contrasted with the oath of 1793. In the oath imposed by the Act of 1793, there is a clause which makes every Roman Catholic, who holds a place under the operation of that statute, bind himself in the most solemn manner that he will not do, or attempt to do, anything calculated to alter, or interfere with, the established and existing condition of property in Ireland. Is it not a little strange that this provision, so necessary in consequence of what is now known with respect to the hopes of the Roman Catholic party,—so indispensable to the well-being of the State, and which forms the most important and vital part of the oath of 1793, should in 1825 be wholly omitted.

“ In the oath of 1793 are these remarkable words:—‘ I do swear that I will defend, to the utmost of my power, the arrangements of property within this realm, as established by law.’ This is the provision, and the necessary provision, contained in the oath of 1793. Every

body who knows anything of the history of Ireland; every body who knows anything of the proceedings upon this question, or of the evidence given before a committee of this House, as well as before the House of Lords, must feel most sensibly how important is the provision contained in this oath. Are we not aware that that oath was admitted, at that period, as an additional security to the Protestant Church? If that were a necessary clause and provision in the oath of 1793, why was it then omitted? Again,—I say, will not the House be astonished to learn that, in the bill of 1825, the whole of this provision was omitted? Was the omission made advisedly and deliberately? Was it merely the effect of accident, or of indifference; or was it the result of deep-laid design? I think there is no manner of doubt, that this can be considered only as a deviation of Roman Catholic professions. If so, I ask where is the power or the wish, on their part, to give us the additional security which we are entitled to demand?

“ Having called the attention of the House to this material omission, I shall pass over the other less important omissions. This was the oath. What additional security was it proposed to afford the Protestant Establishment in Church and State? Something was said with respect to the Roman Catholic bishops, and a certificate of loyalty; but this was after the election. Is there any human being who does not feel the

entire ridicule of such a proposition?—is there an individual, who acts upon the principle that security is essential or necessary, that can consider this offer as an adequate security to us Protestants against the justly dreaded dangers of foreign interference? To guard against the indignity, the perils of foreign interference, and foreign correspondence, what is the security offered? None whatever, except that the correspondence between Ireland and the Papal See, should undergo the supervision of the Roman Catholic bishops. These were the securities proposed to be afforded us by the bill of 1825.

“Perhaps it will be said—I have no doubt that it will be urged—that we ask the Roman Catholics to do that which is totally inconsistent with their religion. It will be argued, that they cannot afford us the security we require, without undermining the principles of their religious faith—that they cannot accede to the bill of 1813. If this be true, it is really a most extraordinary circumstance—a circumstance totally inexplicable to me. Is it not a most extraordinary fact, that in the year 1814, after the decision of this House had been declared upon the bill of 1813, the person who at that period exercised the authority of the See of Rome, upon being applied to on the subject—the first authority then existing—the individual, under whose jurisdiction and spiritual control the Roman Catholics of Ireland were at that moment placed,—that individual did,

in the most distinct and positive terms, publicly declare, that there was nothing objectionable in the veto, and that there was nothing in the bill of 1813 at all inconsistent with the principles and exercise of the Roman Catholic religion.

“ But it was singularly contended by the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, when that opinion was communicated to them, that the Pope at that period was in his confinement, and they protested against the authority of the person I allude to, who acted in his place, for having, in this instance, they stated, very much overstepped all legitimate limits. To confute that argument, —to answer that objection, —I have only to call to the recollection of the House, that the same proposition was stated in detail by the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland to the Pope himself in the year 1815, and his Holiness confirmed the opinion given in the preceding year. The Pope had unequivocally declared, that there was nothing in that concession which he deemed inconsistent with the tenets and doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. Is there any body who has attended to the history of these proceedings —is there a man who is acquainted with the facts and circumstances of the case, that can deny what I have stated? I have a letter addressed upon the subject by the Pope, amongst the papers now near me, and I could refer to it if what I have asserted were not a matter so notorious as to render any such reference idle and unnecessary.

“ Let us advance one step further. What takes place in other countries relative to this point will afford the most valuable positive evidence upon the subject, and the strength of this testimony will be greatly increased by connecting it with what I have just stated, with respect to the concessions of the Pope, in 1815. Let us examine the situation of Roman Catholics on the continent of Europe, and having done so, recur to the condition of the Protestants there. Who appoints the Roman Catholic bishops of Silesia? Does the Pope? Does even a Roman Catholic sovereign appoint them? No; they are appointed solely and entirely by the King of Prussia. Why should not the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland be equally appointed by their Protestant Sovereign? Oh! no: in Ireland this is deemed totally inconsistent with the principles of the Roman Catholic religion! In Russia, the only Roman Catholic bishop, possessing authority in the empire, is appointed by the sovereign. In addition to these important facts, I can state that, both in Russia and Prussia, the whole correspondence that passes between the Roman Catholics of those countries and the See of Rome, is under the supervision of Protestant authorities. Don't tell me then that such concessions are inconsistent with the spirit, the principles, or the practice of the Roman Catholic religion.

“ Is there any thing in the immediate state of Europe, and in the situation in which we now

stand, as contrasted with that of 1810 or 1815, which would render the security that was necessary then, unnecessary now. I beg the attention of the House to this point. At the period of the peace and treaty of 1815, the Roman Catholic religion and influence of the Papal See were in a state of the most abject prostration. If there ever existed a period when we might have dispensed with securities from the Roman Catholics, it was at that peculiar juncture of affairs. But even at that period the advocates of the Roman Catholic religion thought the securities essential. How different is the present period! How much more pregnant is it with danger and with just causes of alarm! Since the year 1814 we have found the Roman Catholic religion and the Papal See struggling actively and incessantly for power throughout every part of Europe. In every corner of Europe we find a state of excitement; and what is most extraordinary and marvellous is, that whilst the advocates of liberal principles and liberal feelings in this country are defending the claims and pretensions of the Roman Catholics, the advocates of liberal principles upon the continent, who see what is going on, are alarmed and suspicious, and apprehensive of our proceedings in their favour.

“Let us only advert to what has recently occurred in the south of France. I refer to the year 1814, when the spirit of Roman Catholic persecution burst forth against the Protestants.

This is most important to consider—for the Roman Catholics under the previous government of France, that of Napoleon, had every inducement to be liberal, and none whatever to acquire a spirit of intolerance and persecution. I ask the House to bear in mind the circumstance alluded to by the honourable member for Corfe Castle, (Mr. Banks)—the restoration of the Jesuits, and the active manner in which they are engaged pushing forward their course in every state on the continent of Europe.

“ I recollect having many years ago read a popular work, ‘ The History of the Order of the Jesuits;’ and I also recollect that, at that time, I felt the utmost astonishment how the world could ever have been so formed, as to tolerate or submit to such an institution. Little did I then think, that ere a few years should pass away, I should see the same most odious order revived. It is unnecessary for me to speak of the dangerous tendency of an order, which requires in every individual member of it, complete, blind, and implicit obedience to the commands of the superior, without any attempt on his part to question their justice. That order is now spreading over every corner of continental Europe, and acting in secrecy, and in vigour, to obtain their former power and control over private conduct and public proceedings, without any responsibility to the government of the countries where its influence prevails.

“Under these circumstances, my argument is this, if securities were necessary for our Protestant Establishment in 1813—the advocates of the Roman Catholics admitted that they were—do not the facts to which I have alluded render such securities equally necessary at the present moment? I know that at this moment the Jesuits are employed in conducting the education of youth throughout different countries. This alone is sufficient to form a foundation of their future absolute power. Who can view the artful and insidious, the criminal and daring conduct of the Jesuits in France, in order to re-establish their sway,—who can contemplate the encouragement given to them in that country, and say that the Protestant Church can dispense with her legitimate means of defence—the right to demand securities from the Roman Catholics ere any concessions be made to them.

“Is this the only circumstance on which I rely? By no means. Every body rejoiced when the Inquisition in Europe was abolished. That dreadful instrument of the power, the vengeance, and the tyranny of the Roman Catholic religion, at the shrine of which so many unfortunate victims had been sacrificed; that most guilty contrivance to extirpate heresy, had fallen before the French Revolution. But guilty as this tribunal had been in its practice, infamous as it was in its pretensions, and contrary as were its principles to every maxim of jurisprudence and

dictate of justice, it had been re-established in full force throughout Spain and Italy.

“It is in vain to attribute this most detestable measure—the re-establishment of the Inquisition—to the civil government. It was authorized by the head of the Roman Catholic Church.

“Is there less reason now, and when such are the circumstances of the Roman Catholic religion, to demand security, than at the former period, when it was thought necessary by the advocates of the measure?”

“If,” says the Quarterly Reviewer, “they represent the concessions which are called for as an act of grace, they argue against the ungraciousness of clogging it with conditions. Do they advise it as a capitulation, to which imperious circumstances must inevitably reduce the government? Then they insist, that to stand out for terms will serve only to prolong hostile feelings, which cannot too soon be allayed; but that the part of wisdom should be to gratify the victorious party, and excite in them a kindly disposition, by placing a generous confidence in them, and making an unconditional surrender. And they pretend that this may be done safely, for the Roman Catholics, as a body, neither have, nor can have, any ulterior object, although individuals among them, irritated by long opposition to their first and just claims, may have used intemperate language, and had recourse to unjustifiable, and even perilous means. But

place them on an equal footing with their Protestant fellow-subjects, and they will then desire nothing more, because there will then be nothing more for them to desire. Take their clergy into the pay of the state, and the dogs of darkness, contented each with his sop, will neither bark nor bite. Throw open the houses of Parliament to the laity, and admit them to all offices, and the roots of the Roman Catholic strength will then be cut: the great families among them are attached to their faith, less by any clear principle of conscientious assent, than by resentment and pride; and were the cause of that resentment removed, and the provocation to that pride no longer administered, they might be expected soon to become English in their faith, as well as in all their other feelings. Divested of declamation, and of such fallacies as have previously been noticed, these are the arguments of those emancipationists who argue in good faith. Are they entreated to call to mind the examples with which, for our instruction and warning, history abounds? History, they tell us, is an old almanack; with the course of events, they say, every thing has changed. The Roman Catholic religion is no longer what it was; the Protestant constitution of these kingdoms must, therefore, be modified, so as no longer to exclude the members of that church. There can be no danger in investing them with power in the state, because they have repeatedly disclaimed what-

ever might be deemed dangerous in the tenets of their ancestors; but, were it otherwise, any danger on that score might properly be despised, for it is no longer by questions, arising out of religious differences, that the tranquillity of nations, and more especially of an enlightened nation like this, can be disturbed.

“ ‘ We were told,’ said Mr. Peel, ‘ a few years ago, that the influence of religion was fast dying away; and we were asked, with pity for our credulity, if we thought any men would now occupy themselves with religion? Religion, we were told, was, even on the Continent, only a volcano burnt out, that could never be rekindled. I remember, Sir, when Mr. Whitbread, in the course of an eloquent speech delivered in this House fifteen years ago, ridiculed the apprehensions that were then expressed, as to religious feelings ever again exercising any influence over mankind. “ Look,” said he, “ at Paris: was there any fear that religion would be revived at Paris? Was it to be expected that Buonaparte would revive religion? Could he excite any apprehensions? Could the Pope excite any apprehensions? Why, he was Buonaparte’s prisoner, and must remain subservient to him. Was there any apprehension of the Jesuits being restored?” ’

“ Mr. Whitbread asked these questions in the year 1812, with the confidence of one who would have deemed it absurd to suppose that any man

should answer him in the affirmative. It is possible to have a short nose, and yet be so shortsighted as not to see to the end of it. ‘All things are in change,’ said a member of one of Elizabeth’s parliaments, ‘*and nothing so suppressed, but by God’s grace the same may, in time, by policy be raised up.*’ He who said this was a papist. The policy which he required for raising up that suppressed superstition in these kingdoms will not be wanting: once it was already so raised as to struggle for the ascendancy, and by God’s grace it was again suppressed; but woe be to us if, in reliance upon that grace, we neglect our human securities, and suffer our defences to be betrayed!”

X.

That all Securities would prove unavailing, from the Pope’s acknowledged power to dispense with the obligation of an oath.—Instances given.

“LORD ELDON has said truly, that ‘during the many years which have elapsed since this question has been contemplated, no man has yet found out what securities he could propose on the part of the Protestants, which the Roman

Catholics would give as the price of what they were to receive.'

"In fact," says the Quarterly Reviewer, "any securities that might be proposed or accepted would not be worth a rush. To say that the Roman Catholics, as a body, are not to be trusted upon their declaration and their oaths, would in these days expose the person who should assert it to a full-mouthed cry of 'Hear! hear!' in Parliament, and to a charge of bigotry, intolerance, calumny, and *ungentlemanliness*, from the Roman Catholic press, and that part of the press which, without being Roman Catholic, is decidedly anti-Protestant. The assertion, nevertheless, is true. They are not to be bound in their dealings with a Protestant state, by any declarations or oaths, however solemn; and this is no secret part of their system, for it has been decreed and pronounced by popes, canons, and councils, that no such oaths and declarations are binding. It is upon the religious sincerity of other men that you have your surest reliance; but in exact proportion as the Roman Catholics are sincere in their religion, must they upon any point in which the interests of their church are concerned, be distrusted. *Corruptio optimi pessima*. The better, the sincerer, the more religious they are, the more effectually are they disqualified by their creed. They are told in their decretals,* that *Non est observandum juramentum quo malum*

* P. 2, Caus. 22, Quest. 4.

incautè permittitur: that *Non omnia promissa solvenda sunt*: that *Non observentur juramenta quæ fiunt contra divina mandata*: and that *Aliquando non expedit promissum servare sacramentum*. To these authorities their creed binds them; and of the application of such maxims history affords abundant examples. In the bull* whereby Pope Innocent III. excommunicated Count Ramon of Thoulouse, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance, the maxim that faith is not to be kept with heretics is there distinctly stated as canonical—‘*Juxta Sanctorum Patrum Canonicas sanctiones ei qui fidem Deo non servat, fides servanda non sit.*’ It was part of the Coronation oath in Arragon, that the king ‘should, upon no pretence whatever, expel the Moriscoes, nor force them against their wills to be baptized; and that he should neither directly nor indirectly ever desire to be dispensed with as to the said oath; or in case a dispensation should be offered to him, that he should not accept of it; and that if he did, whatsoever should be done by him thereupon should be null and void.’ This oath was taken by Charles V.; and Pope Clement VII., in these words absolved him from the solemn engagement: ‘And we do further release your Majesty from the obligation of the oath, which, we are informed, was taken by you in the general estates of the said kingdom and principalities, never to expel the said infi-

* Catal. Hist. des Comtes de Toulouse, p. 242.

dels; absolving you from all censures and penalties of the guilt of perjury, which you might incur thereby; and dispensing with you, as to that promise, so far as it is necessary. And we do further grant free and full power to the Inquisitors, to compel all that shall contradict the same or prove refractory, by ecclesiastical censures, and other proper and lawful methods, requiring the assistance of the secular arm if it shall be judged necessary: all apostolical constitutions, and all ordinances, statutes, and privileges of the said kingdoms and principality, to the contrary notwithstanding, though confirmed by an oath, and by an apostolical confirmation, or by whatsoever other authority; and notwithstanding it should be provided, that a relaxation from the said oath should not be desired nor ever be made use of, if granted, and that the said privileges should never be by any means abrogated; and that whatsoever shall be done to the prejudice of the same, shall be held as null and void.' This dispensation, as is properly remarked by Dr. Michael Geddes, may 'plainly discover to the world how little all laws, statutes, and oaths, though confirmed by the See of Rome, do signify to the security of the lives, liberties, and property of subjects that are not Papists under a Popish king; it being impossible for the wit of man to frame an oath fuller to all those purposes than this was that is here dispensed with:—for, besides that it contained a promise never to desire a

dispensation, or, if a dispensation should be offered, not to accept or make use of it, it contained a declaration likewise that whatsoever should by virtue of any dispensation be done to the prejudice thereof, should be null and void to all intents and purposes: an oath *never to desire a dispensation*, or to accept or make use of one, if offered, being a matter which the plenitude of the Papal power (as we see by this) can *dispense with*, whenever it is for its advantage to do it.'

"Will it be said that these maxims are old and obsolete? Old as they are, the Roman Catholics are still bound to them by that creed of Pope Pius IV., which is at this day the authentic exposition of the faith of the Roman Catholic church, and to which all their proselytes must publicly assent, without restriction or qualification. Let us also examine of what value their late declarations have proved, and how they reason at this time upon the words of an oath. When in the year 1792 the Irish Roman Catholics petitioned for the restoration of the elective franchise, their committee drew up and published a declaration concluding with these words:—'If we shall be admitted into any share of the constitution, by being restored to the right of elective franchise, we are ready in the most solemn manner to declare, that we will not exercise that privilege to disturb or weaken the establishment of the Protestant religion, or Protestant government of this country.' Bear witness, Mr.

Vesey Fitzgerald, how faithfully that solemn declaration has been kept!

“By the act of 1793, when, in reliance upon this declaration, concessions, such as no government which was not demented would have made, were made to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, it was provided that the person accepting office should swear as follows:—‘I do solemnly swear that I will not exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government in this kingdom.’ A man, in whom the sense of truth has not been destroyed by casuistry, would never discover—what the Roman Catholics have discovered—that the signification of that oath turns upon the word ‘*AND*.’ Immediately after the form of this oath was published and circulated, a Roman Catholic commentary upon it was published, and the little conjunction, from which a meaning that should nullify the whole purport of the oath was to be extracted, was distinguished by being printed in large characters, that attention might be drawn to it at first sight. The comment is thus expressed:—

“‘All are here agreed that, to violate the above clause, it is necessary to disturb and weaken not only the Protestant religion, but likewise the Protestant government. They are evidently connected with the conjunctive *and*, without any comma after religion. Both must be disturbed

and weakened, not in any manner, but precisely by the exercise of the privileges now granted. In other respects, we are in our former situations as to preaching, teaching, writing, &c. Weaken after disturb appears rather an expletive than a word conveying a distinct meaning, for it is implied in disturb; as whoever intends to disturb, *à fortiori*, intends to weaken. Hence, the expression is generally understood, and so it has been explained by every one consulted on it, to weaken by disturbance. Indeed, if *or* was between the word disturb and the word weaken, as it was proposed to be, the signification would be changed and inadmissible.'

" 'Surely,' said Lord Eldon, when in one of his admirable speeches he brought forward this remarkable example of Roman Catholic casuistry, 'surely this sort of reasoning upon the terms of an oath should teach us to use great caution when we are prescribing in what terms we shall require oaths of security to be taken.' 'By this jesuitical interpretation,' said the present Lord Chancellor, 'it was meant to convey to the Roman Catholics that, except they *disturbed* as well as *weakened* the Protestant Establishment, they did not break their oath; and that, although they might not weaken by means of disturbing, they may weaken it by any other means in their power.' The declarations and oaths of men, who thus 'palter with us in a double sense,' are not to be trusted."

“ It is,” says Lord Stowell, “ a remark of that profound observer, who has been styled the chancellor of human nature, Lord Clarendon; that any agreement which you may make with that class of men, (Papists,) will signify little, unless it is followed by the approbation of their clergy.”

“ I think it right to state,” said the present Bishop of London, in his speech in the House of Lords in May 1825, “ that some of these doctrines (alluding to the obnoxious tenets of the Church of Rome) are asserted and insinuated both in the class-book at Maynooth, and in the elementary books of religious instruction, which are in common use in Ireland. To mention only one; the sanctity of an oath. It is perfectly notorious that the Irish peasantry in general pay no regard at all to this most sacred of all obligations. They are taught in Dr. James Butler’s Roman Catholic catechism, a work in very general use, that an unjust oath is not binding : and to the question, what is an unjust oath? the answer is, that which is injurious to God, our neighbour, or ourselves. As to the first part of the definition, we know what interpretation may be put upon it by the Romish Church ; as to the last it is very inconsistent with the description given in a book of unquestionable authority, where it is said of the righteous man, that ‘ he sweareth to his neighbour and disappointeth him not, though it were to his own hinderance.’ ”

“ In this class-book (of Maynooth),” says Lord

Bexley, in his address to the Freeholders of Kent, "it is distinctly laid down that there is in the church a power of dispensing with oaths and vows, as well as sins; so that the people of England are taxed to the amount of nine or ten thousand pounds a-year, for the purpose of maintaining professors to teach the Roman Catholics of Ireland that, in some cases a priest, in others a bishop, and in *all* the Pope, can release them from their sins, their vows, and their oaths!"

XI.

Duplicity and Dishonesty of Catholics where the Interest of their Church is at stake.

WHEN Lord Bacon is treating of 'the height of impudency' to which the Romanists of his age had attained in publishing and avouching untruths, he says, 'these men are grown to a singular spirit and faculty in lying and abusing the world; such, as it seemeth, although they are to purchase a particular dispensation for all other sins, yet they have a dispensation dormant to lie for the Catholic faith.'

Of the truth of the above observation the

following extract from the speech of Mr. Peel in the House of Commons, March 1827, affords an apt illustration :—

“My right honourable friend (Plunkett) would have the petition of the Roman Catholic prelates read, in order to put an end to all doubt as to their belief and opinions. Their declaration was, in his view, something above all suspicion. It was with him an indubitable statement of the religious and political sentiments of the Roman Catholics.

“I object, however, to the declaration contained in this petition, that it disagrees with the declaration sent forth by the Roman Catholic clergy. They state that they publish it ‘in the simplicity of truth, as the doctrines of the Catholic Church had been frequently misunderstood or misrepresented.’ In the declaration published in 1826, it is stated, that ‘the Catholic Church, in common with all Christians, receives and respects the entire of the ten commandments, as they are found in Exodus and Deuteronomy; the only difference between them lying in some points of construction.’ When I first read this passage, I exclaimed, ‘Then I, and many other Protestants, have been long in error; for I have always understood that the Roman Catholics did not recognize the second commandment, but excluded it from their catechism.’* .

* “The commandment which is excluded from the Roman Catholic catechism is, ‘Thou shalt not make to thyself any

“ But it happened soon afterwards that a catechism of the Roman Catholic Church fell into my hands, and then I was able to appreciate the ‘ simplicity of truth ’ in which they had issued their declaration. This catechism is stated to have been revised by the Rev. Dr. Butler, and recommended by four Roman Catholic archbishops ; it is printed by the Roman Catholic printer to the Royal College of Maynooth, and is the twenty-fifth edition, carefully corrected. No doubt, therefore, can be attached to its authenticity. I turn to the commandments, to correct my erroneous conceptions of the Roman Catholic system, and I find, that indeed the first commandment is, in some respects, differently expressed, as compared with its appearance in Exodus and Deuteronomy. The second is, ‘ Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain ; ’ and the number ten is made out in this manner,—the ninth is, ‘ Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s wife,’ and the tenth, ‘ Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s goods.’ I cannot help regretting this additional proof of the in-

graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them ; for I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and show mercy unto thousands in them that love me and keep my commandments.’ ”

compatibility of the fact with the profession of the Roman Catholic Church, and that my first suspicion was correct, viz.—that these petitioners *did not* approach the House ‘in the simplicity of truth.’”

Dr. Doyle will supply us with another instance of the value to be attached to the assertions of a modern Roman Catholic, when he thinks that the cause of his Church may be advanced by his duplicity.

“ ‘Catholic Emancipation,’ says Dr. Doyle, * will not remedy the evils of the tithe system; *it will not allay the fervour of religious zeal, the perpetual clashing of two churches, one elevated, the other fallen, both high-minded, perhaps intolerant: it will not check the rancorous animosities with which different sects assail each other.* It will not remove all suspicion of partiality in the government were Antoninus himself the Viceroy: *it will not create that sympathy between the different orders of the State, which is ever mainly dependent on religion.* Withal, Catholic Emancipation is a great measure, and of itself would not only effect much, but OPEN A PASSAGE TO ULTERIOR MEASURES, which a provident legislature could without difficulty effect. THE UNION OF THE CHURCHES, however, would at once effect a total change in the dispositions of men.’ Being questioned upon this subject be-

* Letter to Mr. Robertson, p. 5, 6.

fore the Committee, a very different opinion was then expressed by him :—

Verbaque dicuntur dictis contraria verbis.

He then said, ‘ I think, if Emancipation were carried, that the whole of the Catholic population would consider their grievances, as it were, at an end. I am also quite confident it would produce in them a feeling of satisfaction, of confidence, and affection towards government, greater than has ever been experienced almost in any country. We would feel a most intense interest in promoting the interests of our own country, without reference to religious distinctions; there would be a bond, arising out of our affections and natural inclinations, which would secure to the crown our allegiance better than any provision which can possibly be made. I am convinced in my soul—I never spoke without sincerity, I never spoke more from the fulness of my heart than I do at this present moment—that, if we were freed from the disabilities under which we labour, we would have no mind, and no thought, and no will, but that which would lead us to incorporate ourselves fully and essentially with this great kingdom.’

“ Now, (observes the Quarterly Reviewer,) (for it was never supposed that Janus, though he had a double face, had a double mind also,) it is certain that the titular prelate must either have written, or spoken, as he did not think. And

there appeared so many and such flagrant proofs of this self-contradiction in his evidence, that had he been before a court of justice, no counsel would have rested his case upon the testimony of a witness who had thus disqualified himself, nor would any jury have allowed the slightest weight to it. But it is also due to him to observe, that he may have felt not only self-justified in this conduct, but self-approved for it, upon the system of morals which he learned at Salamanca and which is inculcated at Maynooth. The jesuit-casuists have determined that it is sometimes allowable to conceal* the truth; and in their classification of falsehoods, that which is delivered in evidence is set down as a venial sin.†

“But of the opposite opinions which have been delivered by Dr. Doyle, that, we humbly apprehend, must be received for his real opinion

* ‘*Num veritatem aliquando celare licet?*

‘*Licet equidem. Interrogatus testis, pro tempore potest uti æquivocatione, si revera illo tempore reus factus non sit, quando non debet juxta mentem judicis respondere.—Interrogatus an habeas pecuniam, si petatur cum injuria negare potes, aut si adsit rationabilis causa id faciendi. Perniciosum igitur mendacium grave aut leve est juxta materiam; jocosum et officiosum veniale plerunque.*’—Escobar. *Moralis Theol. Tract* i., Ex. 10. c. 2, sec. 11. p. 160.—Lugduni, 1644.

† ‘*Num mortale sit crimen leviter mentiri in judicio, aut in confessione?*

Minime: quia levis judicii injuria; et levis confessionis irreverentia est.

lb. ib. sec. 9.

which was pronounced when there was no obvious purpose to be served by duplicity. Dr. Doyle knows that Catholic Emancipation can no more produce unanimity, or even tranquillity, in Ireland, than it can change the weather, or than Prince Hohenlohe, by praying in Germany, can set a broken leg in Dublin. But he knows, also, that it would open a passage to those ulterior measures which he desires, and enable the Roman Catholics to occupy a position from which they could command the citadel. He knows that on that position they might plant their batteries, and demand the surrender of the Protestant Church Establishment in Ireland. And we know that, in both Houses of the British Parliament, there are persons, who would heartily co-operate with them for that object. Lord King and Mr. Hume are not the only members who have intimated as much. And 'God knows,' says Lord Clarendon, 'few men have done more harm than those who have been thought able to do least; and there cannot be a greater error than to believe a man whom we see qualified with too mean parts to do good, to be therefore incapable of doing hurt. There is a supply of malice, of pride, of industry, and even of folly, in the weakest, when he sets his heart upon it, that makes a strange progress in mischief.' The countryman in the fable asked nothing more of the trees than a piece of wood wherewith to make a handle for his axe; and the silly trees

thought they gave him little in granting his request. As we value the tree of the church, which is our Tree of life—as we tender the safety of the Royal Oak—let us beware how we give the handle! For the wedges are prepared, and hands which are coarse and callous enough for the work are ready to engage in it.”

So much for Catholic *veracity* : now for an instance of Catholic *honesty*.

“ Before their consecration, the Irish bishops take what is literally and veritably an oath of fealty and allegiance to the Pope. They swear that they will be faithful and *obedient* to St. Peter the Apostle, and to the Holy Roman Church, and to their lord the Pope, and to his successors ; and that they will not knowingly reveal, to any, to their prejudice, the counsels with which they may be entrusted by themselves, their messenger, or their letters. They swear that they will help to defend and keep the *Roman Papacy* and the ROYALTIES OF ST. PETER, against all men. They swear that they will endeavour to *preserve, defend, increase, and advance the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the Holy Roman Church, of their Lord the Pope, and of his foresaid successors* ; that they will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty in which shall be plotted, against their said lord and the said Roman Church, any thing to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honour, state, or power ; and that if they know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, they will hin-

der it to their power, and signify it as soon as they can to their said Lord. They swear that they will observe with all their might, and cause to be observed by others, the rules of the holy fathers, the apostolic decrees, ordinances, or disposals, reservations, provisions, and mandates. They engage to visit Rome in person every ten years, there to give an account of their pastoral office to their Lord the Pope, and humbly to receive his apostolic commands; or, if detained themselves by any lawful impediment, they engage to send a messenger fully instructed in their stead.

“ It is an oath of fealty and allegiance not to be reconciled with the allegiance which is due to the Sovereign.

“ A part of the episcopal oath had been surrendered. The reader who may not be previously acquainted with the when, and the how, and the why of the surrender, will find the circumstances worthy of especial consideration. In the year 1791, the Archbishops of the kingdom of Ireland, as the Pope styles them, explained to their most holy lord the Pope, ‘that through the ignorance or dishonesty of some persons, certain words found in the form of oath, which, according to the Roman ritual, is to be taken by archbishops and bishops, are perverted into a strange sense; and that, in addition to those difficulties which must occur every day in a kingdom where the Catholic religion has not

the dominion, they were, on this account, thrown into new perplexities, from whence they humbly begged that, as far as might seem expedient to his holiness, he would, in his apostolical wisdom, provide some means of delivering them.' The Pope accordingly, having maturely considered all things, graciously gave indulgence that the form of oath which the Archbishop of Mohilow, in Russia, had by his permission taken, might be used thenceforth by the Irish archbishops and bishops.

" And what were the words which, by the ignorance or dishonesty of some persons, had been perverted to a strange sense? They were these: *Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem Domino nostro pro posse persequar et impugabo*—' Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said Lord (the pope) with all my power I will persecute and impugn.' It appears, that a Russian Roman Catholic, when taking the oath at his consecration, as Archbishop of Mohilow, in the year 1785, stopped at this clause, and refused to proceed. Whether he was the first Romish prelate who ever felt a scruple of humanity or conscience at taking upon himself this unchristian and abominable obligation—or whether his conduct had been concerted with the Empress Catharine, that empress supported him in a manner consistent with the strength of her character and the rights of her throne: the court of Rome found it expedient to yield, and the Russian

archbishop was allowed to take the oath without the obnoxious clause. But though the scarlet-coloured beast drew in its horns when Catharine would else have aimed a blow at them,—the concession was so made as to show that no change had taken place in the disposition of the Roman Catholic Church. The principle that heretics were to be impugned and persecuted was not renounced; though its avowal was suspended, by indulgence, in an heretical kingdom where the sovereign, most properly, would no longer suffer it to be made. Everywhere else the Roman Catholic prelates continued, at their consecration, to swear that they, to the utmost of their power, would impugn and persecute heretics, schismatics, and rebels to their lord the Pope. Some six years afterwards, the Irish prelates considered that the clause might, perhaps, stand in the way of the hopes which they were then entertaining, for that a British king, a British minister, a British House of Lords, and a British House of Commons, consisting entirely of heretics, schismatics, and rebels to the pope, might think it no very rational or politic act to remove restrictions from persons who were bound by oath to impugn and persecute them, if ever they had the power. They represented this at Rome, and their lord the pope then conceded to them the same indulgence which he had granted in the case of Russia, but not without observing, in the preamble to the castrated

oath, that *through the ignorance or dishonesty* of some persons, certain words (to wit, the clause complained of) had been *perverted* into a strange sense—perverted by ignorance or dishonesty! Was dishonesty ever more apparent than in this preamble, and can any ignorance be so great as not to perceive it?—as not to know in what sense these words were intended by Pope Hildebrand when he framed the oath,—in what sense the clause has always been understood—and in what sense it has been acted upon, *pro posse*, every where? Do we not know how Bonner and Gardner understood it? Can we be mistaken in what the persecution of heretics means in the oath of a Roman Catholic bishop? Bellarmine may tell us what he, as well as the heretics in his days, who were unreasonable enough to complain of it, understood by it:—‘*Dicunt quidem hæretici se magnam persecutionem ab antichristo pati quia interdum COMBURUNTUR aliqui de eorum numero.*’ Perverted by ignorance or dishonesty to a strange sense! Why the words contain in them flint and steel, fire and faggot,—the weapons of St. Bartholomew’s day, the instruments of Alva, and Cardinal Granville’s executioners, the engines of the Inquisition.”

XII.

Intolerance of Popery.

IN proof of the intolerance of the Roman Catholic religion, I might refer to the Massacre of the French Huguenots on the festival of St. Bartholomew—a deed of blood, which must be imputed to the Romanists at large; for it was sanctioned by the principles which they then acknowledged—I might mention that it was approved by the Pope, whom they obeyed—that it was executed by the adherents to his creed, in obedience to their priests—that it was celebrated as an act of religion in Rome—and that it was justified as a holy deed by the partisans of the Romish opinions. I might relate the fact that medals were struck in memory of the massacre of St. Bartholomew: on one side, the king was represented sitting on a throne, and treading on dead bodies, with the motto, “Virtus in rebelles”—on the reverse, were the arms of France, crowned between two columns; the motto, “Pietas excitavit justitiam.”—I might mention that a solemn thanksgiving was made at Rome, accompanied with a jubilee to all Christendom: for which one of the reasons assigned was, that

they should thank God for the slaughter of the enemies of the church lately executed in France. This and numberless other instances might I bring forward from history to prove the intolerant spirit of Popery ; but the advocates for concession deprecate all reference to history. Let us turn then to the principles avowed by Bossuet and Pope Pius VII ; and see in what light the enormities of popery recorded in history, are viewed by Irish Papists of the present day.

“ The principles of the Roman Catholic religion,” says Lord Colchester, “ are in direct hostility to the reformed religion ; and the basis of my refusal to admit Roman Catholics to the supreme offices of the state, is founded in my conviction of their sincerity in the religion they profess.

“ If you ask for the evidence of this hostility, it is prominent and undeniable. In his (Bossuet’s) great work upon the variations of the Protestant reformers from the true standard of the faith, we are told again and again : — ‘ The exercise of the power of the sword in matters of religion and conscience, is a point not to be called in question. There is no illusion more dangerous than to make toleration a characteristic of the true Church.’ * ‘ The Church of Rome is the most intolerant of all Christian sects. It is her holy and inflexible incompatibility which renders her severe, unconciliatory,

* Bossuet, *Hist. des Variations*, livre X.

and odious to all sects separated from her. They desire only to be tolerated by her; but her holy severity forbids such indulgence.* These doctrines renewed, as they have been in our own times by the pontifical authority itself,† it is in vain for the Roman Catholic laity to disclaim, unless their clergy also, in whose hands their conscience is placed, shall now come forward, and openly renounce this hostility.”

“I find,” says Lord Stowell, “in the interesting account given of the transactions of the Pope, under the usurpations of Buonaparte, declarations of the Pope, given in pastoral instruction, to this effect:—‘The protection much boasted of for different worships, is only a pretext and a colour to authorize the secular power to meddle in things spiritual; since, in showing respect for all sects, with all their opinions, customs, and superstitions, a government does not respect, in effect, any right, any institution, any law of the Roman Catholic church. Under such protection, is concealed a persecution, the most crafty and dangerous which can be exercised against the religion of Jesus Christ. He does not love or understand our most holy religion, out of which there is no hope of salvation, who does not revolt at such an order of things.’ These are the opinions of the supreme head of the

* Hist. de Variations, Sixième Avertissement.

† Circular Letter of Pius VII. to the Cardinals, 5th February, 1808.

Roman Catholic church, upon the mere toleration of other worships. If so, what must be his opinion of a state of things, in which another worship is dominant, and the Roman Catholic faith is in a state of depression? Do I misrepresent the opinion, when I say, it can be no other than this: that such a state is an inverted and unnatural state, which cannot continue without endangering the salvation of the country where it exists."

"Our own experience," as Sir Robert Inglis has well observed, "the observations of to-day, prove, in fact, that the intolerance of the see of Rome is as great as ever. The late Pope, good as he was in many points, is a sufficient example of this position, particularly as he appears in that very curious work printed here thirteen years ago, containing his official correspondence with Alquier and Miollis, when they seized the papal states in 1808. The Pope himself was carried off a prisoner into France. While Buonaparte was meditating this outrage, he still felt it right to submit, for the sanction of the Pope, certain articles relating, not to the universal church, but to the internal administration of France itself, as it related to religion. One of those articles was, that all religions should be free: '*Que tous les cultes soient libres et publiquement exercés.*' The Pope answered as if he had been Julius the Second, or Sixtus the Fifth. He turns round to his cardinals, and tells them in words which

no Protestant should ever forget, 'We have rejected this article, as contrary to the canons, to the councils, to the Catholic religion, to the tranquillity of life, and to the welfare of the state.'* In another rescript to the bishops, in the same work,† he refers to the toleration of all sects, actually granted in France under Buonaparte; and says, that such alliance can no more consist with the Catholic church, than a concord between Christ and Belial. Let it always be recollected, that this was in reference to an application from a sovereign on his throne, in the plenitude of his power, to a decrepit old man, whom he was about to carry off as a prisoner into the centre of France; that Buonaparte felt the spiritual power of the Pope, when he asked the exercise of it, to confirm his own regulations for the internal government of France; and that the Pope showed the unchanging character of

* Pius VII. to his cardinals, 5th February, 1808:—"Si pretende la libertà d'ogni culto con publico esercizio, e questo articolo siccome opposto à canoni ed ai concili, e alla religione Cattolica, al quieto vivere, ed alla felicità dello stato, per le funeste conseguenze che ne deriverebbero, lo abbiamo pure rigettato."—*Relation*, tom. i. p. 42.

† Instruction of Pius VII. to the bishops:—"Religion Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine laquelle, parce qu'elle est divine, est necessairement seule et unique, et par la même, ne peut faire alliance avec aucune autre; de même que le Christ ne peut s'allier avec Belial, la lumière avec les tenebres, la verité avec l'erreur, la vraie pieté avec l'impieté."—*Relation*, tom. i. p. 193.

his church in refusing, even under such extremities, to yield one jot of its intolerant assumptions."

In a document, containing formal instructions on various topics, issued on the 27th of February, 1809, to the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and vicars capitular, of France, respecting the reformed churches of that kingdom. The Pope states, concerning marriage:—"Some of you demand from us a dispensation, or power of granting marriages, to be contracted between two parties, one of whom professes the Catholic faith, and the other an HERESY (Protestant); but, we suppose you perfectly well know that the *true* Catholic church, the church of Jesus Christ, has always strongly reprobated marriages with HERETICS; since the church *abhors them*, as Clement XI. said, our predecessor of happy memory, 'ob plurimum deformitatis nec parum spiritualis periculi quod præ se ferunt;' because of the great dishonour and spiritual danger which they produce. The same laws which prohibit Christians from contracting marriage with Infidels, in like manner forbid Catholics from making SACRILEGIOUS NUPTIALS WITH HERETICS: whence we have been most bitterly afflicted (as our predecessor Benedict XIV. of happy memory was,) to find the Catholics so madly entangled by a shameful passion, as not to abstain FROM SUCH DETESTABLE COALITION, WHICH OUR HOLY MOTHER CHURCH EVER HATH CONDEMNED AND FORBIDDEN."

So much for the principles avowed by Bosuet and Pius VII. Let us now turn to the glozings and palliations of Irish doctors of the college of Maynooth.

“ I know no part of the history of the Roman Catholic church,” says Lord Bexley, “ which has more justly excited the astonishment and indignation of mankind, than the proceedings of Pope Innocent III., and the fourth council of Lateran, which established the inquisition; preached the crusade against the Albigenses, in which historians compute that a million of persons of every age and sex were put to the sword; and declared, that all princes who did not exterminate heretics in their dominions, should be excommunicated and deposed.

“ The Rev. Dr. Crotty, president of the College, and the Rev. Dr. Slevin, prefect of the Dunbayne establishment in Maynooth, were examined as to the decree of the council of Lateran. They coolly state, that as the council was composed of temporal as well as ecclesiastical authorities, they do not think the church answerable if there was anything erroneous or blameable in its proceedings, (though the Pope presided, and the council is known to have been only an instrument in his hands,) but that they do not consider the deposing decree as *now* in force.

“ If any transaction could be worse than those of the council of Lateran, it would be the treacherous and cruel execution of John Huss, at the

council of Constance, after the safe conduct granted to him by the emperor, with the consent of the council. Here, indeed, Dr. Crotty is bolder, for he justifies the council on the ground that Huss merited his fate by attempting to escape when he found he was about to be burnt alive!

“In these two instances,” continues Lord Bexley, “I have only stated the sentiments of individuals, though it may be judged what an influence the sentiments of men in such situations must have over the minds of their pupils, and I do not refer to transactions of this remote date with any view of dwelling on their enormity; but it is highly important that Protestants should know in what light they are represented by the leading Roman Catholic divines of the present day, and especially those who are charged with the education of our fellow-subjects, and who in their examination before the Commissioners of the House of Commons must have been supposed to have spoken with as much caution and wish to avoid offence, as a candid statement of their sentiments would admit, and who were allowed the fullest opportunity of revising and correcting their statements.”

With such principles the practice of Roman Catholics of the present day too well agrees. Two instances will suffice to show this.

“In 1815, an English officer of high rank who lost his daughter (the last and loveliest) as they

were travelling in Spain, was himself obliged, with a former aid-de-camp, to carry her body on the sea-shore of Tarragona, and at midnight, a servant bearing a torch, and digging a grave between high and low-water mark, to read the funeral service over his child! In Gilly's *Vaudois*, 4to., p. 108, there is an account of the tomb, and the inscription to the memory of an English lady whom I well knew, and who dying at Turin, was removed for interment into the country of the Vaudois. And in 1823-4, (continues Sir R. Inglis,) as I learned by a letter from a connexion of the party soon after I had made this statement, an English gentleman, whose wife died at Florence, was obliged 'to remove her body to the distance of thirty miles, before a burying-ground could be found for a Protestant.'

XIII.

Tyranny of the Church of Rome over literary productions at the present day.

"THE tyranny of the Church of Rome over literature," says Sir R. Inglis; "her proscription at this day of all the great masters of the human mind, can be paralleled only by the tyranny and

the proscription which she exercised five centuries ago, over minds and bodies alike.

“The volume which I hold in my hand, the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, contains a list of the books which are *at this time* forbidden under the penalties of the Inquisition. It was printed at Rome in 1819; and I bought it there in the College de Propagandâ, in 1821. Pius VII. even in his last days, added largely to the list of books prohibited; and republished the whole Index, with all the censures and condemnations which Pius IV. and Pius V., two hundred and fifty years before, had pronounced against the literature which at that time had been proscribed.

“The first work to the exclusion of which I wish to call the attention of the House, is Bacon *De Augmentis Scientiarum*; the next is Locke on the Human Understanding; the next is Cudworth’s Intellectual System; all alike taken from the faithful every where, and given up to the Inquisition. Let me add a minor fact connected with the Papal condemnation of Bacon’s work; the date of the publication of that work preceded the date of the decree against it about fifty years; so little had the Church of Rome in that day risen to the level of the age, that fifty years had elapsed before the name and the work of Bacon appear to have reached the Vatican.

“It is true that the best modern literature of the land of these great men is not as yet proscribed; but may we not venture to believe,

that, some fifty years hence, when some future Pius shall have heard that in the heretical country of England there had existed, about this time, two such men as Dugald Stewart and William Paley, their names will be added to those of Bacon, Locke, and Cudworth; and their works also will be condemned as fatal to the faith of man?*

“Much modern poetry has been proscribed: but in this class I will only mention one example, the *Paradise Lost* of Milton. The reading of this book was interdicted nearly a hundred years ago indeed; but the prohibition was renewed in 1819.

“Many historians are, of course, either from their names, or from their religion, or from their want of religion, proscribed; here, at least, therefore, Burnet and Gibbon might be expected to meet; but other names, not so obnoxious on either ground, Guicciardini and Thuanus, Robertson and Sismondi, share their fate.

“Nothing can be more impartial than the prohibition of the Mathematics of Astronomy. The Church of Rome has proscribed Copernicus, both in his own work and in Kepler’s *Epitome*; but to make all things even, she has proscribed Descartes also, and more than one of his commentators. Will the House believe it possible, that the

* The knowledge of Goldsmith’s *History of England* has just travelled to Rome; and the work has accordingly been proscribed, *donec corrigatur*, by a Decree, Jan. 20, 1823.—Index, Paris edition, p. 75.

celebrated sentence against Galileo, a sentence immortalized by the execration of science in every country where the mind is free, should be renewed and republished in 1819? Yet of this fact I hold the proof in my hand in the volume of the Index which I have quoted.* The work of Algarotti on the Newtonian System,† and Fontenelle's plurality of worlds, suffer the same condemnation; so that every modification of science,

* It has been said, (Bergier, Dict. Theol., art. Galilée,) "That the Roman Inquisition condemned Galileo not for maintaining the system of the earth's rotation, but for founding that system on the divine authority of Scripture." Even if this were accurate in the case of Galileo, it cannot apply to the case of Copernicus: it cannot apply to the famous apology of the Jesuit editors of Newton, cited in the next note; but it does not apply even to the case immediately quoted. If nothing more were known of the mind of Galileo than the celebrated exclamation, "*E pur si move*," which burst from him the moment after he had made his recantation, it would be sufficient to prove that it was the theory of the earth's motion, and not the foundation of that theory—the fact, and not the quotation, which the Inquisition compelled him to renounce.

† It is very true, that the best edition of Newton's works was published by two ex-Jesuits;—but what prostration of mind does the Church of Rome require, when it can obtain from two such men as Le Seur and Jacquier, such an apology for their Newtonianism as the following—"Declaration of Fathers Le Seur and Jacquier:—Newton, in this third book, assumes the hypothesis of the earth's motion. The propositions of that author could not be explained except by making the same hypothesis. We have therefore been forced to act a character not our own. But we declare our submission to the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs against the motion of the earth." This declaration was made in 1742.

in other words, every effort of free enquiry, every attempt to disengage the mind from the trammels of authority, is alike and universally consigned to the Inquisition.

“After this the House will not be surprised to find that the Church of Rome is singularly jealous of Ecclesiastical History. Not only is an account of a Protestant Synod proscribed, but the Histories of the Council of Trent by two Roman Catholics, Fra. Paolo, and Dupin, are alike condemned. Even the very epitaph of Fra. Paolo, whether copied in manuscript or in print, is prohibited; and so is a justification of him printed 150 years after his death. Any thing relating to John Huss and Jerome of Prague is forbidden. All Jansenists are of course given up; but even a Jesuit, (Daniel. Papebrochius,) one of the most learned of his order, is not spared when he attempts to relate the history of a conclave.

“As to English works which are in any way connected with religion, the sentence of the Index is very sweeping; our Liturgy, and our Reformers, are of course among the first who suffer; Latimer and Ridley, Jewel and Parker, the ‘Pseudo Archbishop of Canterbury,’ as he is called. They are followed by almost every great name in the church of England. These, however, as Protestants writing upon religion, might expect this treatment; but Protestants

who write on other and very different subjects, Salmasius, and Vossius, and Scaliger, even Grotius, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, and Puffendorf, can claim no exemption; nor, in the judgment of the Pope, can the Koran be left in the Christian world without a risk of its making converts.

“The political use to which, in relation to the measure before you, the names of some great men in the Church of Rome have been applied, justifies me in calling the more immediate attention of the House to the treatment which they have experienced from the Church which they are held to represent.

“It has been asked whether the Church which these men (Fenelon, Nicole, and Pascal) represented, could be fairly an object of the aversion with which we regard it? I answer, whatever the Church may be which these men represent, it is not the Church of Rome. The Church of Rome will have none of them. It ‘proscribed them living, and condemned them dead.’ And yet it is by these names, the names of Fenelon, Pascal, and Quesnel,* that the Church of Rome is most advantageously known in this country; it is in the meekness and piety of these men—so renounced by that communion, not merely in their own times, but even at the present day,

* “ ‘The opinions of Baius or *Quesnel* should never be mentioned if you wish to conciliate the Roman Catholics,’ says Dr. Doyle, in a *Letter* published in Dublin in 1824.”

(see the Index,) that we are told to see the spirit and temper of the very Church which disowned and abandoned them.

“ Even after all which I have already adduced, to prove that the reigning spirit of the Church of Rome is as hostile as ever to the freedom and intelligence of mankind, the House will still be scarcely prepared to believe, that the Bible itself* is at this very day consigned by the profane touch of that Church to the same condemnation in which some of the best human works (I am willing to admit some very bad works also) are already, by her sentence, intermingled and engulfed. The House will observe, that one of the rules promulgated by the Council of Trent, begins with the preamble: ‘ Since it is manifest by experience, that if the Holy Bible in the vulgar tongue be everywhere indiscriminately permitted, more evil than good will thence arise, in consequence of the rashness of men.’ The House will also observe, that the same rule (proceeding in consequence to provide, that for the reading of the Bible a license be granted by certain authorities) closes thus: ‘ He who, without such

* Let it be remembered that the principle upon which the Church of Rome proceeds in her Index, is thus stated by one of her communion, L’Abbé Tosi, (in a passage translated and published in the French edition,) “ savoir ; d’examiner et de prohiber des livres infames ;” and the frontispiece to the original and Roman edition of the Index, represents the Ephesians burning before the Apostles the works which those Apostles had condemned !

license, shall presume to read or to possess the Bible, cannot, unless he shall first give it up to the ordinary, receive absolution of his sins.' If I had been compelled to look for this rule in a contemporary work of the Council of Trent, I should not here have referred to it. I will have no more of history than the honourable gentlemen who are so averse to it, and so much in favour of the claims of the present Roman Catholics, are pleased to allow me; but this is not history: it is the journal of to-day: it is reprinted, re-enacted, re-enforced by the Papal See in 1819.

“ The Italian translation of the New Testament, made by Martini, Archbishop of Florence, was not only approved at the time by Pope Pius VI., but actually came forth with a recommendatory letter from him; a letter which has very frequently since been reprinted by Protestants. But in one of the latest additions to the Index, (a single sheet printed in 1820, and containing the works prohibited since the publication of the volume in 1819,) are two editions of that very translation of the New Testament, by Martini, both printed in Italy, both having the identical letter of Pius VI. prefixed, and neither of them stated to have a single heretical note or addition. The prohibitory clause is as follows: —the Pope having recited the condemnation of the Italian editions of the New Testament in question, of an English impression of the same

translation, and of seven other works, proceeds : — ‘ Therefore let no one, of any rank or condition whatsoever, read or *possess* the said works; but give them up at once to the ordinary, or to the Inquisition, under pain of mortal sin.’

“ From the tyranny over the human mind, thus exercised by the Church of Rome, wherever it has power, I draw this conclusion, that to give it new power anywhere would be most unsafe: and if it were given on the ground that the Church of Rome has changed its character, would be most contrary to the evidence of facts. It has still the same grasping, dominant, exclusive, and intolerant character: it is weaker indeed than it was; but it carries with it everywhere the same mind. You have indeed shorn and bound the strong man, but the secret of his strength is still upon him; and if, from whatever motive, you admit him into the sanctuary of your temple, beware lest the place and the opportunity should call that strength into action; and with all the energies of his might restored for the occasion, he should pull down the temple of the constitution upon you, and bury you, and your idols, and himself, in one common ruin.”

PART THIRD.

WE have seen, I think, that no valid argument can be advanced for further concession to Roman Catholics, on the ground of natural right or political expediency. We will now take a short view of the nature and origin of the tenets peculiar to the Church of Rome;—of the doctrines of the Jesuit morality;—and of the unchanged and unchangeable spirit of the Romish Church, as evinced, as well by other circumstances, as more especially by the contents of the Breviary;—and we shall find little reason, even in this view of the case, for arming Roman Catholics with political power.

I.

Nature and origin of the tenets peculiar to the Church of Rome.

“By comparing the articles of the Church of Rome with those of the Church of England, we shall find that the points of difference are chiefly these:—tradition, transubstantiation, the

number of sacraments, purgatory, indulgences, and the invocation of saints.

“ To begin with tradition. The divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and consequently their truth and obligation, is allowed both by Papists and by the members of our Church : but the Papists assert, that the books of the New Testament do not contain the whole rule of a Christian's faith and practice ; they believe that the Apostles orally delivered many doctrines and precepts of the highest importance to our eternal happiness, which are not contained in the New Testament ; and they further believe that these doctrines and precepts have been faithfully transmitted to the present time ; and that there is an infallible authority, vested by Christ in his Church, to judge of their correctness, and to distinguish those that are true from those which are false.

“ The power of interpreting the word of God by a continual light from above, might be confined by the Scriptures themselves, as it would be difficult to force doctrines on the belief of Christians, of which the very name and subject seem to have been unknown to the inspired writers. *Divine Tradition* removes this obstacle ; and so doing, increases the influence of Rome to an indefinite extent.

“ By the combined influence of tradition and infallibility, the Church of Rome established the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, or the change

of the substance of bread and wine into the real substance of Christ's body and blood, in the administration of the Lord's Supper. The world beheld, for centuries, the natural consequences of the surprising belief of the power of priests to convert bread and wine into the incarnate Deity. Kings and emperors were forced to kiss the Pope's foot, because their subjects were in the daily habit of kissing the hands of priests : those hands, which were believed to come in frequent contact with the body of Christ !

“ The oath which excludes Roman Catholics from the senate, is that against transubstantiation and the invocation of saints. These are declared to be idolatrous and superstitious. Mr. Butler, in his ‘ Book of the Roman Catholic Church,’ vehemently objects to these epithets, and attempts to prove, that no Protestant is justified in making this assertion. With respect to transubstantiation, we have no other words than those to express our opinion of him who kneels down to a thin bread-cake, after the priest has blessed it, believing that the palpable substance is the very and material blood and bones of Him who is in heaven. If we had more expressive terms than these we would use them, to describe our opinion of him, ‘ who taketh flour, and with part thereof he maketh bread, he eateth and is satisfied ; with part thereof he maketh a god, he falleth down, yea, he worshippeth it ! ’ ”

“ A church possessing seven sacraments, is far superior in influence to one that acknowledges but two. Add to this, the nature of four out of the five *Romanist* sacraments—penance, extreme unction, ordination, and matrimony—and the extent of power which she thereby obtains will appear. Penance, that is, auricular confession, puts the consciences of the laity under the direction of the priesthood; extreme unction is one of her means to allay fear and remorse; ordination is intimately connected with the influence which the Roman church derives from transubstantiation, and its being made a sacrament adds probability to the miraculous powers which it is supposed to confer; finally, by giving the sacramental character to matrimony, the source and bond of civil society is directly subjected to the church.

“ It is pretended, that the popish sacrament of *penance* is derived from the scripture doctrine of repentance; but it is, in fact, a corruption of a practice which prevailed in the primitive church. During the severe persecutions which the Christians suffered in the early ages of the gospel, many, through fear of tortures and death, apostatized from the faith. It frequently happened, that these men, after the danger was past, were desirous of returning to communion with the church; but they were not allowed, till they had made a public confession of their offence in the presence of the congregation. In

this manner confession began to be a part of ecclesiastical discipline ; and being thus, in the first instance, applied to a crime of a public nature, it was afterwards extended to private sin. In process of time the clergy of the church of Rome gained such an ascendancy over the minds of the people, as to persuade them that it was their duty to confess all their sins, however private or heinous, to the priest, who had power to prescribe the conditions of absolution ; and to give a greater sanction to this delusion, they called it a sacrament, and made it to consist in confession to the priest, and in absolution from him, after or before such acts of devotion, mortification, and charity, as he should think fit to enjoin.

“ *Extreme unction* is practised by the priests of the church of Rome upon the sick, who are supposed to be past recovery ; and it is believed to give final pardon for sin, with all necessary assistances in the last agony. The following are the only two passages of the New Testament urged by the church of Rome to prove that this extreme unction ought to be considered as a sacrament. St. Mark relates, that the apostles, to whom Christ gave a temporary commission to preach in Judea, ‘ anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them.’ And St. James gives this direction in his general epistle : ‘ Is any sick among you, let him call for the elders of the church : and let them pray over

him, anointing him with oil, in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.' Among other miraculous gifts communicated to the apostles, and early preachers of the gospel, was that of curing diseases; and it is evident that both the above passages refer to the exercise of that supernatural power, and, of course, the efficacy of anointing with oil would cease, when that power was withdrawn from the church. Moreover, the unction spoken of by these two apostles was for the purpose of restoring the sick to health, and not for the good of their souls, when life was despaired of, as practised by papists.

“ The Romish doctrine concerning *purgatory*, as asserted in the councils of Florence and Trent, is this:—

“ That every man is subject both to temporal and eternal punishment for his sins; that God does, indeed, pardon sin, as to its *eternal* punishment, for the sake of the death and merits of Christ, but that the sinner is still liable to *temporal* punishment; that this temporal punishment must be expiated by voluntary acts of penance and sorrow, and by such afflictions as he may here endure by the appointment of God; that this expiation does not fully take place in this life, but that there is an intermediate state, in which departed souls suffer the remaining part of their punishment: and as this state is sup-

posed to purge them from the effect of their sins, and to qualify them for the joys of heaven, it is called purgatory; and the church of Rome further maintains, that the pains and sufferings of purgatory may be alleviated and shortened by the prayers of men here on earth, by the intercession of the saints in heaven, and, above all, by the sacrifice of the mass offered by the priests in the name of sinners; and that as soon as souls are released from purgatory, they are immediately admitted to eternal happiness.

“ The doctrine of *pardons* and *indulgences* took its rise in the following manner:—In the primitive church very severe penalties were inflicted upon those who had been guilty of any sins, whether public or private; and, in particular, they were forbidden to partake, for a certain time, of the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, or to hold communion with the church. General rules were made upon these subjects; but, as it was often found expedient to make a discrimination in the degrees of punishment, according to the different circumstances of offences, and especially when they showed marks of contrition and repentance, power was given to bishops, by the council of Nice, to relax or remit those punishments, as they should see reason. Every favour of this kind was called a pardon or indulgence. When the dominion of the popes, in the eleventh century, was rising to its height, and their power was almost irresistible, they

took to themselves the exclusive prerogative of dispensing pardons, and carried it to a most unwarrantable length. They did not scruple to call these indulgences a plenary remission of all sins—past, present, and future; and to offer them, as a certain and immediate passport from the troubles of this world, to the eternal joys of heaven!”

“The wealth which has flowed into the lap of Rome, in exchange for indulgences, is incalculable. The Spanish government has two or three paltry fortresses on the coast of Africa, which are employed as places of punishment for criminals, and garrisoned by a few soldiers. The see of Rome calls this state of things between the Spaniards and the Africans a *perpetual war against infidels*; which being, according to the principles of that See, a meritorious Christian act, deserves its pastoral encouragement. For this purpose every year are printed *summaries* of a papal bull, called the bull of the Crusade. The benefits to be derived from the possession of one of these bulls, are several plenary indulgences, and leave to eat, during Lent, milk, eggs, and butter, which are otherwise forbidden under pain of *mortal sin*, at that season. The sale of these privileges having been found most valuable and extensive, a second, third, and even a fourth bull of a similar kind were devised. The *flesh bull*, as it is called in Spain, allows the purchasers to eat meat, during Lent, every Sunday,

Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday, except in Passion Week. The third bull is called the *compounding bull*. By possessing one of these documents, and giving a certain sum at the discretion of any priest authorized to hear confessions, to the fund of the *holy crusade*; any property may be kept, which having been obtained by robbery and extortion, cannot be traced to its rightful owners for restitution. This *composition* with the Pope and the King is made by depositing the sum appointed by the confessor in an iron chest fixed outside the doors of churches. The fourth bull is to be purchased for the benefit of the deceased, and is called the *defunct bull*. The name of any dead person being entered on the bull, a plenary indulgence is by this means believed to be conveyed to his soul, if suffering in purgatory.

“Let us now turn to the *worship of saints, relics, and images*. With regard to the latter of these, nothing can be more clear, full, and distinct, than the expressions of Scripture forbidding the making and worship of images. But to get over this difficulty, the Papists upon the continent, in writing the Ten Commandments, leave out the second, and to keep up the number ten, divide the tenth into two.

“The *Invocation of Saints* was a practice unknown in the Church during the first three centuries, and the middle of the fourth century. The primitive Christians commemorated the

deaths of the first martyrs every year on the day on which they suffered; and the Invocation of Saints probably originated from the orations pronounced upon those occasions. In these orations, which were written with all the latitude of declamatory eloquence, there was at first a sort of rhetorical address to the dead person, who was considered as enjoying happiness in Heaven, and a kind of petition to intercede with God in favour of those who were paying that honour to his memory. The orators afterwards addressed the dead directly, and solicited their assistance without any reserve. Litanies were then appropriated to them; and at length, by an easy transition, prayers were offered to them in the same manner as to God and Christ.

“The *Worshipping of Relics* originated in the following manner. In the early ages of the Gospel, when its professors were exposed to every species of danger and persecution, it was natural for Christians to show every mark of respect both to the bodies and to the memory of those who had suffered death in its cause. They collected their remains, and buried them not only with decency, but with all the solemnity and honour which circumstances would allow. In the fourth century, when the pure and simple worship of the Gospel began to be debased by superstitious practices, we find strong proofs of an excessive love for every thing which had belonged to those who had distinguished themselves

by their exertions or their sufferings for the truth of Christianity, and especially for any part of their garments, hair, or bones. When superstition has once made its way into the minds of men, it gradually gains ground, and it is difficult to set limits to it, particularly when there is a set of persons respected for their piety who are studious to encourage it. Monks carried about relics; and with great ease, and no small advantage to themselves, persuaded that ignorant age of their value and importance. Under their recommendation and patronage they were soon considered as the best preservatives against every possible evil of soul and body; and when the worshipping of images came to be established, the enshrining of relics was a natural consequence of this doctrine. This led the way to absolute worship, which was now preached by the Romish clergy as a Christian duty.

“The advantages resulting to Rome from the combined effect of indulgences, relics, saints, and their images, are not, however, derived only indirectly through the deference enjoyed by her clergy. The bond thereby created between the Pope and the most distant regions which acknowledge his spiritual dominion is direct. The Mexican and the Peruvian expects the publication of the annual bull, which allows him to eat eggs and milk in Lent, enables him to liberate by name a certain number of his relations from Purgatory, and enlarges the power of his confessor

for the absolution of the most hideous crimes. Wherever he turns he sees a protecting saint, whose power and willingness to defend him could not be ascertained without the supernatural and unquestionable authority of the Pope. It is the Holy Father who, by a solemn declaration, allots every district to the peculiar patronage of a saint; it is he who by grants of indulgences, encourages the worship of those *miraculous* images which form central points of devotion over all the Roman Catholic world: it is he who warrants the supernatural state of incorruption of the body of one saint, and traces with unerring certainty, some straggling limb to another. It is, finally, he who alone has the undoubted power of *virtually* furnishing the faithful with the relics of the most ancient or unknown patriarchs and martyrs, by bidding the fragment of any skeleton in the catacombs to be part of the body in request.” —(See Bishop Tomline’s Christian Theology, and White’s Practical and Internal Evidences against the Church of Rome.)

III.

Doctrines of the Jesuits.

“THE leading doctrine of the Jesuit morality was called *probabilism*,—an extraordinary adapta-

tion of all principles to the convenience of the party and the time. Probabilism is defined to be that doctrine by which, in the conflict of two opinions, one of which is the more *probable* and suitable to the moral law, and the other the more favourable to personal desires and purposes, the doubter is held justifiable in adopting the more convenient side.

“Of all the doctrines of the order, there was not one which received a more constant sanction of its leading authorities, than this monstrous perversion of common sense and common principle. Of this take the following examples.

“‘A man who has scruples on a particular matter, is *safe*, if he in defiance of his scruples, take a probable side, though he may think that the contrary side is *the more probable*; and in confession the confessor ought to adopt the opinion of the penitent on the matter in question, although *contrary to his own*, inasmuch as the penitent is *excused* before God!’—(Henriquez, Summa Theol. Mor.)

“‘In the case of a matter before a judge, where both sides are equally probable, the judge may lawfully decide in favour of his *private friend*. He may, moreover, decide first on one side, and then revoke his opinion, with the object of *serving his friend*, provided it can be done without incurring scandal!!!’—(De Valence, 1609, t. iii.)

“‘Men are never so little exposed to the viola-

tion of a law, as when they think that the law is not binding on them. For he whom the law obviously binds, is only exposed the more to offend it. It is plain that the individual so bound may commit offence against the law; while it is equally plain that he whom the law does not bind cannot sin against it. By this argument it is clear that he who follows the *less strict* and *less probable* opinion, is the least in danger of sinning.—(Casmedi, Jugement Theol.)

“Another of their remarkable doctrines was that of ‘philosophic sin,’ namely, that—

“‘The most criminal action cannot offend the Deity, nor be obnoxious to divine justice, provided the perpetrator is either unacquainted with the existence of the Deity, or does not think of him at the moment, or does not conceive that he is offending him.’

“On robbery and purloining they held that—

“‘It is no crime to take in secret that which would have been given if we had asked it; and although we may know that its being so taken would be contrary to the will of the proprietor, no restitution is necessary.’

“On homicide they held—

“‘If an individual is stupid enough to believe invincibly that a desire to commit homicide is no sin, there is actually no sin in the desire.’—(Platelius, Plan d’un Cours.)

“By such doctrines, the whole moral principle is palpably defied; and their practice introduced

on any large scale, would be sufficient to embroil all the relations of life. But the Jesuit doctrines touching the right of public vengeance on kings or governors, are still more formidable, from the facility of their practice, from the public ruin which they must produce, and from the actual application of the Jesuit dagger.

“ ‘ The revolt of a *cleric* against a king is not *high treason*, because a cleric is *not* the *subject* of a king ;’ (obviously from his having a superior sovereign in the Pope.) (Emmanuel Sa, Aphorismes des Confess.)

“ ‘ The whole school of theologians and ecclesiastical lawyers conclude, and the matter is not only certain, but one of *faith*, that every prince of Christendom, from the time of his having rejected the Catholic faith, and of his attempting to withdraw others from it, *forfeits thenceforth all power and dignity*, by the divine and human law, and this even before any sentence pronounced by the sovereign pastor and judge. And all his subjects are *absolved from their oath of fidelity to him* ; and they may, and should, if they have the power, drive such a prince from every Christian state, as an apostate, a heretic, a deserter of Jesus Christ, and a declared enemy of their commonwealth.’ (Philopater, Réponse à l’Edit d’Elizabeth, Reine d’Angleterre, 1583.)

“ Bellarmine, the great name among their doctors, a cardinal, and holding almost the high-

est rank of the Popish divines, openly asserts the right of the sons of the Papacy to overthrow and destroy obnoxious monarchs.

“ ‘The spiritual power, if it shall discover that the temporal is an obstacle to the spiritual end, may, and should, repress it by *all sorts* of means and expedients that it may find necessary. The spiritual power may change kingdoms, and take them from one to give to another, in its capacity of spiritual sovereign, if that be necessary for the salvation of souls.’ (1596, Controverses, l. v. c. 6. Du Pontife Romaine.) He proceeds: ‘Christians *cannot* be suffered to *tolerate an infidel or heretic king*, if that king attempt to draw his subjects into heresy or infidelity. Yet it belongs to the sovereign pontiff, who is charged with the care of religion, to judge if the king does or does not draw his people into the heresy. It thus rests with the sovereign pontiff to decide on the deposition of the king.’

“ ‘If the Christians of old did not depose Nero, Dioclesian, Julian the Apostate, and Valens the Arian, it was *because they had not sufficient power*.’ (Ibid. c. 7.)

“ This libel on primitive Christianity could be endured only in a country where the Bible was prohibited to the people. There are few Christian doctrines more expressly detailed by the Apostles, than obedience to the powers that be, and that obedience for conscience’ sake.

“ We need not, however, be surprised that

these doctrines were taught by Jesuits. The consciences of many revolted at such opinions ; but the Jesuit had surrendered *his* conscience to the government of his Church, and had sworn to consider that black which his own eyes saw to be white, if the Church so declared it to be. Shall we be told that this is a false and calumnious assertion ? the words may be seen below as they stand in the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola.* (See the Foreign Review, No. IV., published by Black and Young.)

IV.

That the Roman Catholic Religion is unchanged and unchangeable.

“ WHEN,” says the Quarterly Reviewer, “ those persons who call upon us to dismantle our defences, throw open our gates, and admit the Roman Catholics into the citadel of the Constitution ; are reminded of the intolerant and per-

* “ ‘ Denique, ut ipsi Ecclesiæ Catholicæ omnino unanimes conformesque simus, si quid, quod oculis nostris apparet *album*, *nigrum* illa esse definierit, debemus itidem, quod *nigrum* sit, pronuntiare.’ (Exercitia Spiritualia, p. 141. Antwerp, 1636.)”

secuting principles which have been decreed by their Councils, proclaimed by their Popes, and acted upon whenever and wherever they have had power to act; then indeed they are eager to persuade us, that the infallible has been deceived, that the immutable has changed: but the Romanists make this admission with a saving clause, (for themselves, and not for us,) that it is the practices only which have varied, not the eternal principles, for that their church is and ever has been, and ever must be, incapable of error or mutation. Certain it is that their church confesses to no error in any principle that it has at any time maintained, and that it expresses neither shame nor sorrow for any of its practices: it recedes from none of its claims, though it may wait the convenient season for re-advancing them; it retracts no maxim which it has once avowed, however monstrous. There is even a canon forbidding the retraction of any thing that has once been decreed against any heresy whatsoever.* *Non est retractandum quod semel Synodus statuit contra unamquamque heresim.* Their argument upon the oath of 1793, and the meaning which to the defeasance of that oath they extracted from the conjunction AND, may instruct us to look well to their declarations, and examine always, as Fuller says, whether there 'is no vermin of equivocation hid under the nap of the words.'

* P. 2., Caus. 24. Quest. 1.

“ We are sometimes referred to the Gallican church as an example that the Roman Catholic religion may be established without detriment to the temporal sovereignty, and that it may exist, though dominant, in a qualified form, disarmed of every thing that might justly be deemed obnoxious. In so far, however, as that church possesses any Liberties, they are possessed against the approbation of the Papal court; every book, as Sir Robert Inglis tells us, which has been written in defence of the liberties of the Gallican church, being, at this day, prohibited by the Pope. It must not be forgotten also, that in the worst acts of inhuman bigotry, by which the Roman Catholic religion has rendered itself odious, the Gallican church has been as much engaged as the Papal; the French bishops have been as remorseless as the Spanish Inquisition, and the Most Christian kings as deeply dyed in the blood of their heretical subjects, as the most Catholic. Before any one ventures to deny this, let him inquire into the history of the French Huguenots and of the Spanish Moriscoes.

“ Has any one persuaded himself that the character of this corrupt church is changed? Let him look at the proofs adduced in Sir Robert Inglis’s admirable speech of its *present* intolerance, of its *existing* prohibitions, of the unrelaxing tyranny which it *at this day* exercises over the human mind. Let him see what are its feelings and practices at this time abroad and at home,

far and near, in the New World and in the Old,—in France, among the most enlightened of the Roman Catholic people, and in Ireland among the most ignorant. The earthquakes in South America are attributed by the priests and friars to the heretics, the *Inglezes*, who pollute their soil; it is their presence which has drawn rain from heaven upon the dry country of Peru, and washed away the mud dwellings in which the true believers had formerly dwelt secure; the same unholy presence has caused the mines to fail. Such are the feelings which prevail in emancipated South America, among the liberalized states, and in the very capital of Bolivar the Liberator! From Germany and from Switzerland, as well as from Dublin, there come authenticated reports, of Prince Hohenlohe's miraculous performances. In France, a relic of the Virgin Mary's dress is sent for to secure a happy delivery for the Duchess of Berry; the papers tell us of a crucifix at Migné which emitted a miraculous light; and how at Hartmansweiler, on the Upper Rhine, on the evening of the octave of the *Fête Dieu*, the host, during the last prayers, became transparent and luminous, and presented to the eyes of the astonished spectators a miniature portrait of their Saviour: the details of this miracle were published for the edification of the pious! In Italy the measure of the Virgin Mary's foot is sold at Rome, as taken from her shoe; and on the paper, which is of the exact size and shape of

the aforesaid shoe, three hundred years of indulgence are promised to any who shall kiss the measure three times, and recite three Ave Marias. John XXII. granted the indulgence, Clement VIII. confirmed, and Leo XI. allows of the sale, and the imposture, and the superstition !

“ This is in the eternal city, the Pope’s own seat. In his patrimonial kingdom, Ireland, the island of saints, there are holy wells at which multitudes annually assemble, coming from far and wide, bareheaded and barefooted, that they may crawl on their knees round these wells, which are generally near some old oak, or upright unhewn stones (for, in fact, the practice is a remnant of Druidical times) : the crawling is performed westward, after the course of the sun ; some do it three, some do it six, some nine times, or more, but always in uneven numbers, till the penance is fulfilled. There, too, is the Cursing Altar, built of loose round stones, where the Roman believer turns one of the stones, and utters an imprecation upon his enemy, in the fervent and pious belief that it will draw upon him some dreadful and inevitable evil. There we have (and in Maynooth College) the sodality of the sacred heart of Jesus, and devotional books, in which the devotee is instructed to address his prayers to the heart of Jesus, through the heart of Mary ! There we have the penny-a-week Purgatory Society ; and there we find purgatory itself, St. Patrick’s purgatory, flourishing still !

But it is not the original purgatory island, not that which was formerly visited; the clerk of the present purgatory confesses this. ‘The old island, Sir,’ said he, ‘was too near the shore, and, in summer time, the people could come from the main land to it by a little wading; and often, Sir, ungodly people used to bring over to the pilgrims liquor, and other things, that used to spoil their devotions and interrupt their fasts: but now, he must be a good swimmer who could get to our present holy * places!’ Herein the cause of changing the place is explained; for not fewer than thirteen thousand pilgrims are said annually to visit this den of superstition at this time: the ferry is rented for two hundred and sixty pounds a year; the fare is five-pence, and the priest’s fee from twenty-pence to two and sixpence; for which, however, he is bound by his assistants to keep the pilgrims awake during four-and-twenty hours, an office for which the use of a switch is required. When Mr. Gamble† visited this remarkable place, the island, which is little more than an acre in circumference, ‘was literally strewn with the more zealous pilgrims, who on their bare knees performed their devotions, and moved about in ceaseless

* Sketches in Ireland, descriptive of hitherto unnoticed districts in the North and South, p. 180;—a very able and delightful book, which most certainly, if Ireland were in a tranquil state, would draw thither annual shoals of picturesque tourists.

† Views of Society in the North of Ireland, p. 260.

activity, and crossed each other in mazes intricate and intervolved, but doubtless regular. The hum of their voices, as they repeated their prayers, and counted their rosaries, resembled the buzz of bees, or the sound of flies on a summer's day.' At this place the pilgrims lighten their hearts, their conscience, and their pockets."

If further proof is required of the unchanged spirit of the Romish religion, the contents of the breviary will amply supply it.

V.

Contents of the Breviary, or Popish Prayer-Book.

"A Christian church cannot employ a more effectual instrument to fashion and mould the minds of her members, than the form of prayer and worship which she sanctions for daily use. Such is the *breviary* or prayer-book of the Roman Catholic clergy. In consequence of a decree of the council of Trent, Pope Pius V. ordered a number of *learned and able* men to compile the breviary. Urban VIII., in 1631, had the language of the whole work, and the metres of the hymns revised. The value which the church of Rome sets upon the breviary, may be known

from the strictness with which she enforces the perusal of it. Whoever enjoys any ecclesiastical revenue; all persons of both sexes who have professed in any of the regular orders; * all sub-deacons, deacons, and priests, are bound to respect, either in public or private, the whole service of the day, out of the breviary. The omission of any one of the eight portions of which that service consists, is declared to be a mortal sin, a sin that, unrepented, would be sufficient to exclude from salvation.

“The breviary, therefore, must be reckoned the true standard to which the Church of Rome wishes to reduce the minds and hearts of her clergy, from the highest dignitary to the most obscure priest. Nay, should a Roman Catholic clergyman, as is often the case be unable to devote more than an hour and a half a day, to reading, his church places him under the necessity of deriving his whole knowledge from the breviary.

“The office of the Roman Catholic Church was originally so contrived as to divide the Psalter between the seven days of the week. Portions of the Old Scriptures were also read alternately with extracts from the legends of the saints, and the works of the fathers—but as the calendar became crowded with saints, whose fes-

* Some orders have a peculiar breviary, with the approbation of the Pope. There is no substantial difference between these monkish prayer-books and the breviary which is used by the great body of the Roman Catholic clergy.

tivals take precedence of the regular church-service, little room is left for any thing but a few psalms, which are constantly repeated, a very small part of the Old Testament, and mere fragments of the gospels and epistles. The great and never-ending variety consists in the compendious lives of the saints, of which I will here give some specimens.

“ In the first place, I shall speak of the early martyrs, the spurious records of whose sufferings have been made to contribute most copiously to the composition of the breviary. The variety and ingenuity of the tortures described, are only equalled by the innumerable miracles which baffled the tyrants, whenever they attempted to injure the Christians by any method but cutting their throats—houses were set on fire to burn the martyrs within; but the breviary informs us that the flames raged for a whole day and night without molesting them. Often do we hear of idols tumbling from their pedestals at the approach of the persecuted Christians; and even the judges themselves dropped dead when they attempted to pass sentence. The wild beasts seldom devour a martyr without prostrating themselves before him; and lions follow young virgins to protect them from insult. The sea refuses to drown those who are committed to its waters; and when compelled to do that odious service, the waves generally convey the dead bodies where the Christians may preserve

them as relics. On one occasion a Pope is thrown into the Lake Mæotis, with an anchor, which the cautious infidels had tied round his neck, for fear of the usual miraculous floating: the plan succeeded, and the Pope was drowned. But the sea was soon after observed to recede three miles from the shore, where a temple appeared, in which the body of the martyr had been provided with a marble sarcophagus.

“ I shall next mention the stories by which the breviary endeavours to support the extravagant veneration for the Popes and their see. The most notorious forgeries are, for this purpose, sanctioned and consecrated in the breviary. We thus find the fable about the contest between St. Peter and Simon Magus, before Nero, gravely repeated in the words of St. Maximus—‘ The holy apostles (Peter and Paul) lost their lives,’ he says, ‘ because among other miracles, they also, by their prayers, precipitated Simon from the vacuity of the air—for Simon calling himself Christ, and engaging to ascend to the Father, was suddenly raised in flight by means of his magic art. At this moment Peter, bending his knees, prayed to the Lord, and by his holy prayer defeated the magician’s lightness; for the prayer reached the Lord sooner than the flight; the right petition outstripped the unjust presumption. Peter, on earth, obtained what he asked, much before Si-

mon could reach the heavens to which he was making his way. Peter, therefore, brought down his rival from the air as if he had held him by a rope, and dashing him against a stone, in a precipice, broke his legs: doing this in scorn of the fact itself, so that he who but a moment before had attempted to fly, should not now be able to walk; and having affected wings should want the use of his heels.' (Septima die infra Octavam SS. Apost. Petri et Pauli).

“ The standing miracles of the city of Rome—those miraculous relics which still draw crowds of pilgrims within its walls, and which, in former times, made the whole of Europe support the idleness of the Romans at the expense of their devout curiosity—are not overlooked in the prayer-book of her church. Let me mention the account it gives of St. Peter's chains, such as they are now venerated at Rome. Eudoxia, the wife of Theodosius the younger, being on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, received as a present one of the chains with which St. Peter was bound in prison, when he was liberated by an angel. This chain, set with jewels, was forwarded by the pious empress to her daughter, then at Rome—the young princess, rejoiced with the gift, showed the chains to the Pope, who repaid the compliment by exhibiting another chain, which the holy apostle had borne under Nero. As, to compare their structure, the two chains were

brought into contact, the links at the extremities of each joined together, and the two pieces became one uniform chain.

“ After these samples, no one will be surprised to find in the same authorized record, all the other supposed miracles, which, in different parts of Italy, daily move the enlightened traveller to laughter or disgust. The translation of the house of Loretto from Palestine to the Papal States, is asserted in the collect for that festival. The two removals of that house by the hands of angels, first to the coast of Dalmatia, and thence, over the Adriatic, to the opposite shore, are gravely related in the lessons; where the members of the Roman Church are reminded that the identity of the house is warranted by papal bulls, and a *proper* mass and service, published by the same authority for the annual commemoration of that event.

“ It is rather curious to observe the difference in the assertion of Italian and of French miracles: the unhesitating confidence with which the former are stated; the hypercritical jealousy which appears in the narrative of the latter; the walk of St. Dionysius, with his own head in his hands, from Paris to the site of the present abbey of St. Denis, is given only as a credible *report*—‘*De quo illud memoriæ proditum est, abscissum suum caput sustulisse, et progressum ad duo millia passuum in manibus gestasse.*’*

* The breviary, however, does not betray such hesitation as to the works of the said Dionysius, the Areopagite—the most

But all is certainty in the accounts of Italian worthies—witness the renowned St. Januarius, whose extraordinary miracles, both during his life under Diocletian, and in our own days, are stated with equal confidence and precision. That saint, we are told, being thrown into a burning furnace, came out so perfectly unhurt, that not even his clothes or hair were singed—the next day all the wild beasts in the amphitheatre came crouching to his feet. I pass over the other ancient performances of Januarius, to show the style in which his wonderful works after death, are given. His body, for instance, on one occasion extinguished the flames of Vesuvius. Next comes that ‘noble miracle’—*præclarum illud*—the liquefaction of Januarius’s blood, which takes place every year in Naples. The usual state of the blood, as a coagulated mass, and its change into a bubbling fluid, are circumstantially described, as might be expected from historians who convey the most minute information, even about the clothes and hair of a martyr who died fifteen hundred years ago.

“ Let us now take a few specimens of the miracles of the early ages of monachism. Among these hardly any narrative will be found more curious than that which the breviary copies from St. Jerome, as a record of the life of Paul, the

bare-faced forgery that ever was foisted on the credulity of the world. *Libros scripsit admirabiles, ac planè cælestes, de divinis nominibus, de cælesti et Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, de mystica Theologia, et alios quosdam.*

first Hermit. Paul, we are told, retired to a cave in the desert parts of the Thebais, where he lived from early youth to the age of one hundred and ten. Being near his death, Anthony, another Egyptian Anchorite, paid him a visit by a supernatural command from heaven. Their names being, in the same manner, revealed to each other, they met for the first time, with the familiarity of old acquaintance. While they were talking about spiritual matters, a raven dropped a loaf of bread at the feet of Paul—‘Thanks be to Heaven,’ exclaimed the father of hermits; ‘it is now sixty years that I receive half a loaf daily in this manner: to day my allowance has been doubled.’ On the morrow Paul requested his friend Anthony to return for a cloak, which having belonged to Saint Athanasius, he wished to have as his winding-sheet. Anthony was coming back with the cloak, when he saw the soul of Paul going up into heaven, surrounded by the holy company of the prophets and apostles. In the cave he found the corpse with crossed legs, erected head, and the arms raised above it. He was however at a loss how to dig a grave, being also an old man of ninety, and having no spade or instrument of that kind. In this distress he saw two lions hurrying towards him from the interior of the desert; the lions, in the best manner they could, gave him to understand that they meant him no harm, but, on the contrary, were much affected by the death of Paul; they then set to

work with their claws, and having made a hole of sufficient size to contain the dead body, quietly and decently retired to their fastnesses. (Die xv. Januarii.)

“ The life of Saint Benedict, the great propagator of monachism in the sixth century, has furnished the breviary with several curious miracles. One of the first among the wonders he wrought, does not give a very favourable idea of the character of religious associations at that period. Saint Benedict, having undertaken the government of a certain monastery, where he wished to introduce a more severe discipline than the inmates were disposed to follow, had a poisoned cup presented to him by the monks. He would have fallen a victim to their wickedness but for the habit of making the sign of the cross over every thing he ate or drank. The sign was no sooner made than the cup burst into pieces, and spilt the deadly contents on the table.

“ The apostles, who had received the power of working miracles from Christ himself, for the great object of establishing his religion, appear never to have controuled the order of nature, except under the influence of that unhesitating faith, which being in itself a miracle, was said to be able to *move mountains*. It is far otherwise with the wonder-workers of the breviary. While these modern saints lived on earth, nature suffered a daily interruption of her laws, and that often for their own personal convenience. With

the exception of St. Paul's preservation from the bite of a viper, we do not find miraculous interpositions in his favour. Indeed, the account he gives of the hardships, dangers, and narrow escapes during his ministry, shows that miracles were not wrought for his comfort. Modern saints are more fortunate: Frances, a Roman widow, who enjoyed the familiar view and conversation of her guardian angel, once multiplied a few crusts of bread, so as to afford a substantial meal to fifteen nuns, and fill up a basket with the fragments. St. Andrew Avelline, retiring home in a storm, was preserved from the effects of rain. The benefit of this miracle was not only extended to his companions, but the whole company had the advantage of seeing their way in a pitch-dark night, by the radiancy of the saint's person.

" St. Peter of Alcantara, exhibited a very curious phenomenon in another storm. A tremendous fall of snow came on as he was returning at night to the convent. Distressed for shelter, he entered a building, the most unfit for the occasion, as it wanted a roof to stop the snow, but the walls which still remained saved half the trouble to the miraculous agent employed on this occasion: The snow congealed into a solid roof, and completed the building, in which Peter passed the night. The cooling properties of this structure must have been highly welcome to a man, whose *charity* (I relate what I find in the

breviary) so used to raise the temperature of his blood, that it obliged him to break out from his cell and run distracted into the fields.

“ The repetition of miracles is a matter of some curiosity, as it might be expected that powers which baffle the laws of nature, would display an inexhaustible variety,—yet we find the earliest miracles repeated, and many occur regularly in the life of every saint. Of the latter kind are the luminous appearance of their faces; the multiplication or creation of food; living without sustenance; conversing with angels; emitting sweet effluvia from their dead bodies. More peculiar displays of supernatural interference, appear sometimes at different periods. St. Gregory, the wonder-worker of the fourth century, fixed his staff in the ground, and it instantly grew up into a tree which stopped the floods of the river Lycus. The lately mentioned Peter of Alcantara, also made his staff grow into a fig-tree, which the friars of his order have propagated by cuts in every part of Spain. This happened in the sixteenth century. A raven provided Paul the hermit with bread: a wild doe presented herself daily to be milked by St. Œgidius. There are also certain miraculous feasts, for which saints have shown a peculiar fondness. Three navigations on a mantle are recorded in the breviary. St. Francis de Paula crossed the strait of Sicily on his own cloak, taking another monk as a passenger. St. Raymond de Pennafort sailed in the

same manner, from Majorca to Barcelona. St. Hyacinth, a Pole, deserves no less credit for the management of his cloth vessel across the flooded Vistula, notwithstanding the weight of his companions.

“The mention of a Polish saint reminds me, however, of a miracle performed by St. Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, which is not likely to have been often repeated. Stanislaus was on the point of being deprived of some lands, which he had purchased for his church. He could not show the title-deeds : and the person to whom they formerly belonged had been dead three years. The king being a decided enemy of the bishop, no witness would come forward in his favour. The diet of Poland was on the point of punishing Stanislaus for his supposed fraud, when to the no small amusement of the noblemen present, he engaged, within three days, to present the late possessor of the estate. On the third day the saint called the dead man out of the grave. Peter (that was his name) rose without delay, and followed the bishop to the diet ; where having duly given his deposition in support of the bishop’s right, he died a second time.

“I defy hagiography to match the miracles I am now going to relate from the life of a Spanish saint, recorded in the breviary.

“St. Peter Armengaud, had entered the order of Mercy, and made some visits to Barbary for

the liberation of Christian captives. The money collected for that purpose being exhausted before he could ransom some boys whose faith appeared to be wavering, he sent them away with his companion, and remained as a hostage for the full amount of the debt. Peter waited for his companion with a very natural anxiety; but the expected money did not come on the appointed day, and the barbarians settled the account by hanging their hostage. Great indeed was the distress of Father William on learning the sad consequences of his delay: yet the body of a martyr was worth having, and he insisted upon carrying it back to Spain. The Moors had no objection to part with it, and willingly led the monk to the place where Peter was still hanging by the neck. Three days in that posture would have closed a windpipe of brass; but Peter's was sufficiently free to address his religious brother as soon as he saw him within hearing. The Virgin Mary, he informed him, had since his execution supported the weight of his body, and was still holding him up at that moment. Of the pleasures Peter had experienced whilst hanging, he used always to speak in raptures; notwithstanding a wry neck, and an habitual paleness for life, which the Virgin allowed him to keep in remembrance of her assistance. It seems that, omitting the rope and beam, the scene of suspension was often repeated between Peter and his

glorious prop; for the Breviary informs us that he frequently was seen raised in the air, uttering 'the sweetest words,' in answer to questions which the bystanders heard not, but conjectured most rationally, to proceed from the Virgin.

" 'May I not ask,' says the author of the Book of the Roman Catholic church, 'if it be either just or generous to harass the present Catholics with the weaknesses of the ancient writers of their communion; and to attempt to render their religion and themselves odious by these unceasing and offensive repetitions?' This complaint should be addressed to the Pope and the Roman Catholic bishops, by whose authority these *weaknesses* are *unceasingly* repeated. I can easily conceive how galling it must be for a *modernized* Roman Catholic, in this country, to be constantly suspected of being a Roman Catholic, in deed, and according to the Pope's heart. In vain however would the suffering scholar, the *harassed* man of refinement, attempt a distinction between the miracles of dark ages, and those of more modern times. His mother church has thrown her mantle over them, by borrowing from them all for her own peculiar book, her own corrected work, the task-book of all her clergy. He must remember that the *weaknesses* for which he implores the benefit of oblivion are no longer imputable to their original and ancient sources, but to the Popes who republished them at the Vati-

can in 1631 ; to the Church which with one accordant voice, still repeats them to the faithful of all climates and languages.

“ Whether the church that sanctions and uses the Breviary believes the accounts it contains, or secretly smiles at the credulity of those who credit them; it might be hoped that the models proposed for imitation would have been safe in regard of Christian practice.

“ The first noxious ingredient which poisons charity in the Roman Catholic system of sanctity, is intolerance. St. Ferdinand, king of Castile, is represented as an eminent sample of that peculiar Roman Catholic virtue, which visits dissent from the faith of Rome with the mild correctives of sword and fire. ‘ In alliance with the cares of government, the regal virtues (says the Breviary) shone in him—magnanimity, clemency, justice, and, above all, zeal for the Catholic faith, and an ardent determination to defend and propagate its worship. This he performed, in the first place, by persecuting heretics, to whom he allowed no repose in any part of his kingdom; and for whose execution, when condemned to be burnt, he used to carry the wood with his own hands.’ (Die 30 Maii.) Who then shall be surprised to find inquisitors canonized by Rome, or to hear her addressing a daily prayer to the great and merciful Father of mankind, ‘ that he would be pleased to bruise, by the power of his

right hand, all pagan and heretical nations?" Such are the words which Rome puts in the mouth of every Spanish priest who celebrates high mass.*

"The love of external ceremonies is notorious in the Roman Catholic church; but few will probably have given a distinct and separate consideration to the special models, by which their church sanctions and recommends this peculiar manner of sanctity. Let them therefore conceive themselves as contemporaries of St. Patrick, and imagine they see him pursuing the regular and daily employment of his time. The holy saint rises before daylight, and under the snows and rains of a northern winter, begins his usual task of praying *one hundred* times a-day, and again *one hundred* times in the night. Such, the Breviary informs us, was his daily practice while still a layman and a slave. When raised to the See of Armagh, his activity in the external practice of prayer appears quite prodigious. In the first place, he repeated daily the one hundred and fifty psalms of the Psalter, with a collection of canticles and hymns, and two hundred collects. The two hundred genuflexions of his youth were

* The concluding collect contains a prayer for the Pope in the first, for the bishop of the diocese in the second, and for the royal family in the third place; it then proceeds to pray for peace and health, and concludes, "et ab Ecclesiâ tuâ cunctam repelle nequitiam, et gentes paganorum et hæreticorum dexteræ tuæ potentiâ conterantur," &c.

now increased to three hundred. The ecclesiastical day being divided into eight canonical hours, and each of these having one hundred blessings with the sign of the cross allotted by St. Patrick, his right hand must have performed that motion *eight hundred times* a-day. After this distracting stir and hurry, the night brought but little repose to the saint. He divided it into three portions: in the first he recited *one hundred* psalms, and knelt *two hundred* times; during the second he stood immersed in cold water, repeating fifty psalms more, 'with his heart, eyes, and hands raised towards heaven;' the third he gave up to sleep upon a stone pavement.—(Die 17 Martii.) Imagine to yourselves the patron saint of Ireland, not as an ideal and indistinct personage of legend, but as a real man of flesh and blood. Depict, in the vivid colours of fancy, the bustle, the perpetual motion, the eternal gabbling, the plunging into water for prayer, the waving of the hands for benedictions, the constant falling upon the knees, the stretching of arms, the turning up of eyes, required for the ascetic practices of his life; and then repeat the memorable words of our Saviour,—'The hour cometh, and now is when the true worshipper shall worship the Father, in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a spirit; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.'

"All this, however, is intimately connected

with the Roman Catholic notions of penance. Open the Breviary at any of the pages containing the lives of the saints, males or females, and you will find uninterrupted abstinence from food (whether real or not, certainly held out to admiration, and sanctioned by the assertion of miracles in its favour) from Ash-Wednesday till Whitsunday: living one half the year on bread and water; confinement for four years to a niche excavated in a rock; and everywhere the constant use of flagellation, lacerating bandages, and iron chains bound constantly about the body, immersions in freezing water, and every method of gradually and painfully destroying life. The Roman Catholics will talk of penance in *moderation*; but where can the line be drawn to mark the beginning of excess. Does not the young victim read of her model St. Theresa, that 'her ardour in punishing the body was so vehement as to make her use hair-shirts, chains, nettles, scourges, and even to roll herself among thorns, regardless of a diseased constitution?' Is she not told that St. Rose, 'from a desire to imitate St. Catharine, wore, day and night, three folds of an iron chain round her waist; a belt set with small needles, and an iron crown armed inside with points! That she made to herself a bed of the unpolished trunks of trees, and that she filled up the interstices with pieces of broken pottery?' She did all this in spite of her 'tortures from sickness,' and by this means she obtained the

frequent visits of saints and angels; and heard Christ himself uttering the words, ‘Rose of my heart, be thou my bride.’ Can the poor, weak, visionary recluse, doubt the reality of scenes attested by her church, or question the lawfulness of slow self-murder, supported by the brightest of her commended models?

“The models which Rome presents for imitation, are not more removed from the spiritual simplicity of the Gospel, than they are from that soberness of devotional feeling, which pervades the whole of the New Testament. Read the accounts of saints who have lived since the beginning of the sixteenth century; and whether male or female, you will find a *sentimentality* of devotion, a suspicious kind of tenderness, which, from time to time, has alarmed the truly sincere sons of Rome. Even the story of St. Theresa dying ‘rather of love than disease’ is more worthy of a novel of doubtful tendency, than of a collection of lives prepared by a Christian church to exemplify the moral effects of the Gospel.

“Does the Breviary produce effects analogous to the character of its contents? Does it every where degrade faith into credulity, and devotion into sentimentality? That it does so among Roman Catholics, in Italy, in Spain, in Portugal, and in all other countries where the religion of Rome predominates, is a matter of general notoriety. It would afford an additional praise of the Reformed religion, if it could be proved that

the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland had been preserved from the injurious effects which the *true* book of their church has so widely produced among their foreign brethren.”
—(See White’s Practical and Internal Evidences against Catholicism.)

THE END.

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